

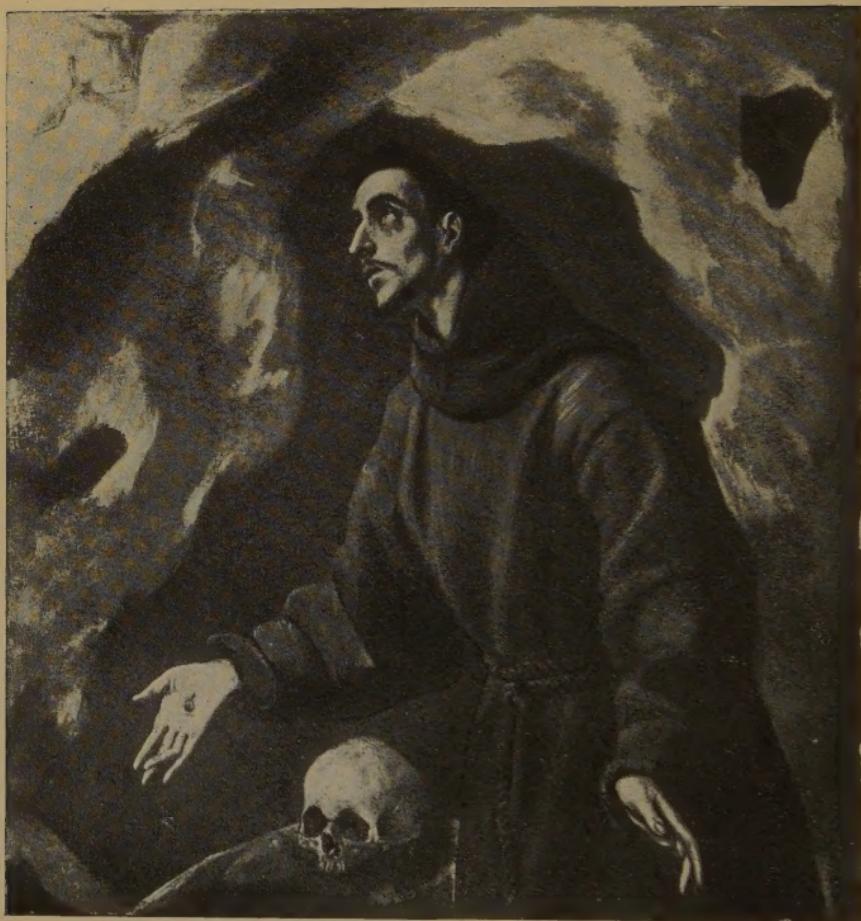
IRELAND'S TRIBUTE TO SAINT FRANCIS



EDITED BY

FR. GREGORY CLANCY, O.F.M.

Fr
922, 3
C 623



ST. FRANCIS

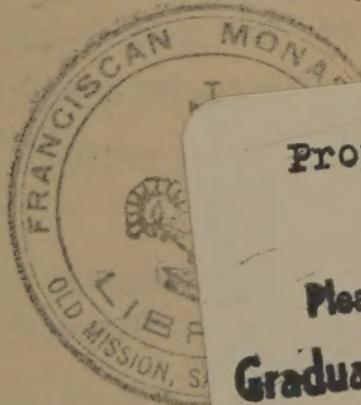
From a Painting by El Greco in the National Gallery of Ireland.

IRELAND'S TRIBUTE TO SAINT FRANCIS

SEVEN LECTURES ON FRANCISCAN SUBJECTS

11/134

Edited by
REV. GREGORY CLEARY, O.F.M.



Property of
CBF
Please return to
Graduate Theological
Union Library

Dublin

M. H. GILL AND SON, LTD.,
50 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET

1928

Nihil Obstat :

FR. ROGERIUS MOLONY, O.F.M.

Censor Deputatus.

Imprimatur :

FR. HUBERTUS QUINN, O.F.M.,

Min. Provincialis.

Dublini, die xv. Feb., 1928.

Nihil Obstat :

JOANNES CANONICUS WATERS,

Censor Theol. Deput.

Imprimi potest :

† EDUARDUS,

Archiep. Dublinen.,

Hiberniae Primas.

Dublini, die 17 Feb., anno 1928.

PRINTED AND BOUND IN IRELAND

— BY —

M. H. GILL & SON, LTD., DUBLIN

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITOR'S NOTE	v
THE IRISH FRANCISCANS AT ROME AND LOUVAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Rev. Professor Corcoran, S.J.	1
THE STIGMATISATION OF ST. FRANCIS. By Professor Howley	10
DUNS SCOTUS. By Rev. Professor O'Keeffe	23
na proimisiúascánaíS in eirinn. Le Domnall Ó Siáinn	41
FRANCISCAN MISSIONS. By Mr. Hilliard Atteridge	56
THE PICTORIAL TREATMENT OF THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS. By Dr. T. Bodkin, B.L.	88
ST. FRANCIS IN ITALIAN LITERATURE. By Mr. Jeremiah J. Hogan, M.A., B.Litt.	102
APPENDIX	123

EDITOR'S NOTE

A word of explanation is perhaps due for the title of this little volume. I have ventured to style it, "Ireland's Tribute to St. Francis"; though its content far from represents all that Ireland contributed during the recent Seventh Centenary Commemoration towards honouring St. Francis. For, all through the "Franciscan Year" (August 1st, 1926, to October 4th, 1927), appropriate celebrations continued to be held by the Irish Franciscan Fathers and by the Irish Capuchin Fathers in all, or nearly all, their respective churches. These same bodies conducted, likewise, two most successful pilgrimages to Rome and Assisi in connection with the event. And, in the Spring of last year, the Capuchin Fathers held a solemn commemoration in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, when the Very Rev. Professor MacSweeney of Maynooth and the Very Rev. Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., read striking papers. Literary contributions to popular and learned journals were also not wanting.

At the same time it will, I think, be admitted that everything hitherto recorded falls considerably short of the effort put forth in winding up the "Franciscan Year"; to the solemnities of which occasion it was decided to devote a whole week (September 26th to October 4th, 1927). Besides ecclesiastical functions of a special character and a striking musical pageant, the Programme included a series of learned Lectures on different

phases of Franciscan activity, delivered under the aegis of the National University of Ireland. For, on the initiative of Dr. Coffey, the distinguished President of University College, Dublin—than whom no one is more alive to all the implications of Irish history—the Academic Council decided to identify itself wholeheartedly with us on the occasion; envisaging, no doubt, Ireland's debt to the sons of St. Francis in the past in the field of Irish history, as also of Irish learning on the whole.

It is mainly, though not exclusively, because of the exceptional character of the Lectures thus called forth, and here printed, that I decided on the title, "Ireland's Tribute to St. Francis." For, the voice and authority of our most learned national institution may be regarded, I submit, as the most authentic national voice and authority available under present conditions.

The National University of Ireland further identified itself with the Franciscan Centenary, in that the President and members of the Academic Council attended, in their robes, the Pontifical High Mass celebrated to inaugurate the proceedings.

Besides the Lectures, it was at first intended to publish in this volume the several apposite speeches delivered by distinguished men in connection with each of the Lectures. Many of these speeches had real value, as concreting and complementing the Lectures themselves. But, on finding that many of the speakers delivered their message without retaining any record of it, the idea had to be abandoned.

An account of the liturgical functions, and of the splendid musical pageant held on the occasion, will be found in the Appendix.

We are indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Bodkin, the genial and erudite Director of the National Gallery, for the frontispiece of the book.

G. C.

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS AT ROME AND LOUVAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE seventh centenary of St. Francis comes directly after two events of unusual importance in connection with the public relations of Ireland and Continental Europe during the seventeenth century. The tercentenary of the foundation of St. Isidore's College, Rome, fell in the year that has also seen the return of the Irish Franciscans to their great college of St. Antony at Louvain, founded a few years before Luke Wadding laid out the finely permanent lines of work in the sister Institute near St. Peter's. Of the achievements of St. Antony's for Faith and Fatherland, from 1517 to 1796, Fr. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., has recently given an account, all too brief for the importance of his subject, in its academic and scholarly as well as in its national and more active aspects. New matter of very high interest and value also marks the contribution made by Fr. Gregory Cleary, O.F.M., to the tercentenary celebrations at St. Isidore's.¹

The seventeenth century is the greatest in the history of our Catholic nation, with the doubtful exception of the epoch of early missionary effort in Central Europe. The national estimate of its

¹ *Father Luke Wadding and St. Isidore's, Rome: Biographical and Historical Notes and Documents*—Rome, 1925.

greatness is by no means adequate. It cannot be adequate as long as the attention of our students in schools, colleges, and universities is concentrated on the uninspiring policies and personalities of the "Old English" in Ireland. The volume published some twenty years ago on the historical papers now at Merchants' Quay, Dublin,² gives us a pithy summary of their position as recorded in 1626: "In all the wars waged by the Supreme Pontiff and the King of the Spains against the King of the English, the Anglo-Irish, although Catholics and professors of the Roman Faith, held themselves on the side of the King of the English; the Old Irish, and the Mixed, fighting along with the Catholic Kings and the Supreme Pontiff against the King of England."³ With this excellently lucid definition of positions we may fittingly place a sentence, from the same repertory, written by Rory O'More on September 20, 1642, to Fr. Hugo de Burgo, O.F.M., agent of the Irish Confederation in Flanders: "If we may, afore Flan MacEgan dies, we will see an Irish school opened, and therefore could wish heartily that those learned and religious fathers in Lovayne did come over in haste, with their monuments, and with an Irish and Latin print."⁴

It would not take any lengthy exegesis to show, from this one passage, how splendidly the Irish Franciscans stood, Irish and Anglo-Irish and Mixed

² Report on Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. 1906.

³ *Ibid.* p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 194.

though they were, on the side of Irish Ireland, of Irish learning, Irish education, Irish influence in European scholarship. That is to their immortal credit, despite occasional exceptions to this general rule. It was in the seventeenth century that the reputation of Irish scholarship, national or international in its subject-matter, stood highest in European lands. The significance of that great fact has yet to be realised in Irish history; and until this is secured, our estimate of our own historical significance will be altogether too inferior, incomplete, despondent. We are not to judge ourselves by such estimates as those put before the world by writers such as Bagwell, or even by writers such as Lecky. Even the ample collection of papers made and published by Sir John Gilbert cannot yield an adequate result, commensurate with the actual historical position. A true valuation of the true Irish nation at the time of its culmination, and before the dark night of the Penal Code, can be got only by viewing the product of Irish action, both at home and on the Continent, as a unit.

Into that national product the contribution of the Irish Franciscans enters as by far the largest constitutive factor; and it enters in a sustained way that shows convincingly, at all stages, that Irish action in Ireland and in Europe was a unit. No doubt the other groups of workers for Ireland, Catholic laymen, members of the pastoral clergy, Dominicans, Jesuits, wrought a good deal in substantial fashion. But it may well be doubted if their united efforts did as much, in that momentous period, for the Catholic Faith in Ireland, and

for the historical vindication and national credit of the Irish people, as was achieved by the Irish Franciscans. St. Isidore's at Rome, St. Antony's at Louvain, were the enduring sources of that great achievement. In many ways these two Colleges did the same work at the same time; and an effective record of that work would seem to call for their presentation as one force. But in some ways they stand apart with some distinctiveness. The main qualities and types of what they did for Ireland, work

non omnibus una,

Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum,

and call for full and elaborate record. A brief summary is all that can here be given.

Foremost among all the Irishmen of that epoch, in the front rank of all Irishmen of all time, is Luke Wadding. Associated in an almost exclusive way with St. Isidore's, from its foundation in 1625 to his death in 1657, Wadding was hitherto known to have laboured, in the Eternal City, for Ireland in two ways, either of which taken alone would suffice to build up a reputation for ability and for achievement of a most notable kind. As Roman representative of the whole of the Irish nation, he gave splendid and unwearying service, especially from 1641 to 1652. It merits separate presentation, with the full documentary evidence that is well known to be available, and which was so poorly presented in the volume which entered into the publications of the English Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Luke Wadding has, in quite another field, been

known all over Europe as the historian of his Order. The eight folio volumes of the *Annales Minorum*, issued by him at Lyons from 1625 to 1657, extend down to within a century of the date when he finished the eighth volume and saw it through the press at Rome, from 1650 to 1654. Together with his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*,⁵ and more than a dozen lesser books of an historical and critical character, this great work calls for full analysis of its characteristic qualities. This is all the more important, as in many respects Wadding was a pioneer in Europe along the lines of what may be called "the documentary method." Even in smaller ways, as in his quartos on St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua,⁶ the documentary source and control is always put forward with emphasis, as vital even in moral and devotional writing. A complete exposition of the range and character of Wadding's historical work would be a distinct and valuable national asset.

On a third and in many ways a new aspect of Wadding's achievements, Fr. Cleary⁷ has shed considerable light. The organisation for study, prayer, and the fruitful observance of religious rule, devised for St. Isidore's by its effective founder, exhibit to the full Wadding's capacity for organisation, inspired by the fullness of his knowledge both of the history and spirit of his Order, and by a balanced appreciation of the needs of his

⁵ Rome, 1650.

⁶ *Opuscula S. Francisci*, Antwerp, 1623; *Concordantiae Morales S. Antonii Patavini*, Rome, 1624.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 169-70; 185-94.

time in Europe and in Ireland. The best evidence of its practical value to-day is the record of St. Isidore's itself, as a home of "religious and learned fathers" both in Wadding's lifetime and long afterwards.

In a fourth field of labour Wadding also has a high record, even if we consider his work by itself and alone. It is, however, much greater and conveys a much more valuable lesson for all in Ireland devoted to the advancement of our national repute in scholarship and learning. Like the eight volumes of the *Annales Minorum*, Wadding's magnificent edition of the writings of Scotus (sixteen volumes, folio, Lyons, 1639), is still the standard and, indeed, the only adequate presentation of his great subject. But it is distinguished by the plan which Wadding adopted. Giving full recognition to the great services of Maurice O'Fihely, O.F.M., in elucidating the true text and true meaning of the greatest philosopher of our race, Wadding took care to see that the work of Hugh MacCaughwell, afterwards co-arb of St. Patrick, John Ponce of Cork, Antony O'Hickey of Thomond, as expositors of Scotist doctrine and tradition, should be incorporated fully in his great and enduring edition of the greatest teacher of his Order. The fine quality of this Irish contribution to higher studies in philosophy and theology has thus been placed on permanent record, and its value is so considerable that it has been fully reproduced in the latest re-prints of this Lyons edition of three centuries ago. A survey of these Irish Scotists shows fully that even in the domain of philosophy alone their

writings could stand separately as a striking and highly characteristic unit in the modern History of Catholic philosophical studies. Particularly would this be true if the Irish Franciscan authors of Louvain were, as would be entirely fitting, added to those of Rome.

This is a fifth category in the list of national services rendered by this band of intellectual apostles, few in number but splendid in quality. St. Isidore's became "le berceau du grand mouvement scotiste." A full account was given by Bertoni in 1917: he traces from O'Fihely (Milan and Padua, 1491), to O'Connor Kerry (Bolsano, 1680), the Irish element in the "merveilleux épanouissement scotiste de cette époque, l'age d'or du scotisme," and gives to St. Antony's, Louvain, the place of honour beside St. Isidore's of Rome as the "pepinière de scotistes."

What manner of men these were is shown us in the frescoes of Fra Emanuele da Como, executed in the Aula Maxima of St. Isidore's in 1672. They give us to know Wadding himself, O'Fihely, Ponce, Baron, Colgan, MacCaughwell, and O'Hickey: the central fresco is exceptionally fine. This contribution of St. Isidore's to the history of its golden age is by itself worthy of grateful mention, and prompts the suggestion that larger and more elaborate reproductions would be well worth the making. The two figures of Wadding by Fra Emanuele, however, are quite eclipsed by the very human, dignified, and appealing portrait executed by Carlo Maratta, some of whose other work is still among the glories of St. Isidore's. For essential truth of portraiture, Maratta's work

appears to outrank even the fine portrait of Wadding now in the National Gallery, Dublin, which was long attributed to Ribera. The sternness, not to say rigor, of this Spanish portrait does not disappear, but rather is transmuted into something more winning and noble.

Last, and in many ways greatest service, was rendered by both these houses, in the preservation and enriching of Celtic history, literature, and learning. If the *Annals of the Four Masters* was written at Donegal, it was because the zealous efforts of Ward, Colgan, Fleming, and many others in Louvain and in Rome, had prepared the way. How highly their work was appreciated in Ireland is evident from the letter of Rory O'Moore which I have already cited. And as a proof that these men were above the petty inter-provincial spite and jealousies that ruined so much Irish work at that period, I may instance the fact that, when O'Clery and his helpers had finished the *Annals* at Donegal, they travelled from there to Munster to submit the MSS. to Flan MacEgan, admittedly the greatest Irish scholar of his day.

In a final great effort our Irish and our Latin scholarship were felicitously united in the production of a whole series of works of Celtic erudition, from Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* to the more modest but highly serviceable works of Francis O'Molloy. With them may well be placed such noble work as that of O'Bruodin and O'Connor Kerry, and much beside that is still unpublished relating to Irish History of the seventeenth century. Even as regards printed books, much of all this material is prac-

tically inaccessible at the present time to students of our country's history. In their interests, it is clear that an adequate collection of all the works and papers of our writers, issued abroad during that great period, is of prime necessity. It is not enough that the writers of separate monographs should have access, often with marked difficulty, to the rare copies of their printed productions. The effect of a full and widely-circulated series of such works would be quite different. To name but one out of fifty writers, what number of libraries, what number of students to-day, can afford to have copies of Colgan's works? What number of schools and colleges? The question answers itself, both for Ireland and for Europe. How many earnest students of the seventeenth century in Irish History have ever seen a page of O'Mahony, O'Bruodin, Ponce? This vast field of essentially Irish History has little to do with English State Papers, or even with Commissions, of that origin, on Historical Manuscripts. Perhaps the most worthy service that a reconstituted Irish Record Office could render would be to give the Universities, Academies, and learned societies of the world a well-planned Series of all the great National Writers of that age of Confiscation of Irish Land, the seventeenth century.

THE STIGMATISATION OF ST. FRANCIS

IN the life of St. Francis, as in that of any other Saint, the culminating point is the very moment of death. *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors Sanctorum ejus.* In absolute value we must place that supreme moment above all others, hence the care with which the hagiographer records every detail which surrounds the passing of a Saint. Night had fallen when God called Francis to Himself, yet a multitude of larks had gathered round the Convent and soaring sang joyously the Compline of the earthly life of their friend the Poverello and echoed his Matins of eternity. Then the assembled brethren saw a wondrous sight. "The body of their Father, so long contracted with pain, became supple and smooth and straight, and the dark flesh became exceedingly white, and into the eyes, long dull with disease, there came, as it were, the light of day. And then, for the first time, most of them saw the five wounds of the Stigmata; and it seemed to them as though they were gazing upon the very Body of Christ Himself."¹

This was the marvel, announced to all the brethren shortly after the death of St. Francis by Brother Elias, in the following terms: *Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum et miraculi novitatem. A seculo non est auditum tale signum praeter quam*

¹ Father Cuthbert: *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 462. Longmans, 1927.

*in Filio Dei, qui est Christus Deus. Non diu ante mortem Frater et Pater noster apparuit crucifixus, quinque plagas, quae vere sunt stigmata Christi, portans in corpore suo; nam manus ejus et pedes quasi puncturas clavorum habuerunt in utraque parte confixas reservantes cicatrices et clavorum nigredinem ostendentes, latus vero ejus lanciatum apparuit et saepe sanguinem evaporavit.*²

The claim made by Brother Elias has never been questioned on any serious grounds: St. Francis is the first bearer of the Stigmata, in the sense in which we use that term to-day. St. Paul uses the word in *Galatians*, vi. 17, where he declares: “*Stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto*”; but in the absence of any tradition, there is no evidence that the word was used other than metaphorically. The term “*Stigma*” indicated originally a brand placed on the shoulder of a soldier to mark him out as one bound to military service of the King or Emperor. It is in this sense, I think, we must take St. Paul’s statement. Dr. Eoin MacNeill has drawn my attention to a line in a contemporary poem written in praise of St. Patrick by St. Secundinus and known as “*The Hymn of St. Secundinus.*” Verse 31 has

Cujusque justa in carne Christi portat stigmata.

² Father Cuthbert: *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. ix.
“I bring you tidings of great joy and of a new miracle. Such a sign was never heard of, save in the Son of God, Who is Christ. Shortly before his death our Brother and our Father appeared as one crucified, bearing in his body five wounds which are the veritable marks of Christ, for his hands and feet were pierced as by nails which passed through them, preserving the scars and manifesting the blackness of the nails, but his side appeared with a lance-wound and bled frequently.”

Dr. MacNeill tells me that this poem was the authentic work of St. Secundinus, and was written sometime between 439 and 447, and he regards this as good evidence that St. Patrick preceded St. Francis as a bearer of the Stigmata. But it seems to me that this phrase of St. Secundinus must be taken rather in the sense of St. Paul's statement. St. Patrick had this in common with St. Paul, that both were apostles of the Gentiles; they came to convert peoples for whom as yet the Sacred Wounds had no significance. The mission of St. Francis was different; his was to preach to the faithful who had forgotten the Cross. We find no solid spiritual reason why St. Paul or St. Patrick should exhibit the *physical* marks of the Passion of Christ; it was not, it seems to me, one of those *charismata* which would have served the work God sent them to do; rather would it have excited prejudice among the unconverted pagans. Then, too, the absence of tradition is vital: there were Irishmen among the very earliest of the Franciscans.

With St. Francis then begins that long series of servants of God who bore in their persons the physical marks of the Passion of Christ. Dr. Imbert Goubeure³ has reckoned 321 cases which can be considered genuine, and thinks that a diligent search of monastic records would give still further instances. Of these 321 cases, 41 were men, and 62 Saints or Beati of both sexes. In the nineteenth century there were 29 cases. Needless

³ Dr. Imbert Goubeure's book is out of print. I have taken his figures from Poulain, Chap. XIII, § 18, page 175, of the English edition.

to say, there are innumerable cases of false stigmatics. Few of the accidental phenomena of sanctity, those charismata, *gratiae gratis datae*, which God gives to His elect to aid their work for His Kingdom and, incidentally, to give His servants glory and credit among the faithful, have provoked such a mass of fraudulent imitation. In dealing with the reality and authenticity of any alleged case of stigmatisation, the Church has always displayed the greatest caution. She always judges the reality of the stigmata by the proofs of sanctity of the recipient, not *vice versa*. Grounding themselves on this fundamental criterion and studying the phenomena of stigmatisation as shown in the lives of canonised saints, theologians have drawn up a series of minor criteria to serve as a diagnosis of this Divine malady. We get a good summary of their results in Père Poulain's great work on mystical theology,⁴ and he gives us the following characteristics of true Stigmata as distinguished from false :

- (1) With the first, there are true wounds : the flow of blood is often very abundant. There is nothing similar with the others. There has been merely a swelling or a more or less coloured exudation.
- (2) The first often persist for several years, or reproduce themselves periodically every week. The others are transient.
- (3) It is not possible to cure the first by means of remedies.

⁴ R. P. Poulain: *The Graces of Interior Prayer* (English Translation, p. 555). Kegan Paul. 1910.

- (4) The first are often very painful. This fact has not been noted with the others.
- (5) The first have always been accompanied by ecstasies.
- (6) Contrary to what is observed in all natural wounds of a certain duration, those of the Saints exhibit no fetid odour⁵ (sometimes they even emit a perfume), no suppuration, no morbid deterioration of the tissues. And the remarkable thing is that any non-stigmatic wounds from which they may suffer follow the normal course.

The absence of these signs would render any case very suspect, to put it mildly. But is their presence a certain guarantee against fraud? We could not accept them as a valid safeguard against diabolic fraud, for there is nothing in them which the "ape of God" could not copy sufficiently well to deceive any human observer. The medieval theologian had no illusions in this matter; he was, if anything, only too prone to attribute the marvellous to diabolic agency. To-day the world, and particularly the learned world, has "dismissed Hell with costs," and the mere suggestion of diabolic agency only provokes a pitying smile in the superior person.

"We think our fathers fools so wise we grow,
Our wiser sons will doubtless think us so."

We replace the devil with suggestion and use the

⁵ One exception is cited: Blessed Rita of Cassia received a supernatural wound in the centre of her forehead, due to a thorn from the crown of thorns on her crucifix. The odour was insupportable.—(Bolland, of May 22.) Poulain, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

subconscious as a polite substitute for the theory of plain fraud which satisfied the "Science" of the first half of the nineteenth century. You have only to contrast what Dr. Alfred Maury wrote in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of November, 1854, with Dr. Dumas's article in the same review of May, 1907, to see what progress in respect agnostic science has made when it deals with a subject like the Stigmata. Maury has no scruple in writing: "Une aberration de la vie d'un grand saint est devenue le point de mire d'une foule d'esprits ignorants et fanatiques," or in treating the phenomena of the Stigmata in general as the product of mere human trickery, a deplorable aberration, if not a detestable fraud. Dr. Dumas, on the contrary, is careful to say nothing disrespectful to those servants of God who have borne in their bodies the marks of the Passion of Christ; his explanation of the Stigmata, although naturalistic, is all to their honour. His theory is, that deep affective meditation on the Passion is capable in certain exceptional cases of so affecting the body of the Saint so meditating as to produce those lesions which we call the Stigmata. He bases this theory on numerous clinical records of cases of dermographism and other clinical accidents resulting from strong mental impressions. Even M. Louis Gillet, in his charming article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, October, 1926, appears to be caught by some modified form of this theory, for he almost seems to regard the Stigmata of St. Francis rather as a sort of growth from within, than an impression from without. No doubt, it is certain that strong mental impressions can modify

our bodies, but can any mere mental impression produce lesions with all the six characteristics I have quoted from Père Poulain? Could the *merely natural* action of the psyche on the body produce a bleeding, non-suppurating wound of a persistent and incurable character? The case of St. Francis, as we will see, presents other features, special and unique in character, which make Dr. Dumas's explanation frankly incredible.

In the year 1213 St. Francis, with a companion, found himself at Montefeltro. A great tournament was in progress to celebrate a Royal marriage. St. Francis seized the opportunity to preach to the noble knights and fair dames assembled, and mounting a wall he began as a troubadour to speak on the topic that would most interest a gay gathering, the perennial topic of love. But here was no ordinary jongleur talking, the theme took an organ note, the courteous praise of faithful human love melted and vanished in the deeper, more burning theme of the love of God. A wonderful sermon that bore wondrous fruit, for it led Count Orlando Cattani de Chiusi to give the poor man of Assisi the wild and desolate Monte La Verna for a hermitage, a famous guerdon for God's troubadour. In this wild spot,

Nel crudo sasso intra Tevere ed Arno,
St. Francis built his "house of retreat." In the year 1224 he went there, as was his custom, to spend the Lent of St. Michael in prayer and penance.

At the beginning of this immortal retreat the prayer of St. Francis set his feet on summits of contemplation yet unclimbed, and the

humblest of men then living heard the call to go up higher. Moved to search the Scriptures for an oracle, he bade Brother Leo to open the book of the Gospels on the altar. Thrice was it opened, and thrice it opened at the Passion of Christ. Francis then knew that he was called to imitate the Poverty of Christ in His Passion, as He had copied His Master in the works of the active life. As yet he knew not how this might be, and he sought the answer in deeper solitude and prayer. Then, as we read in Chapter XIII of the *Legenda Major* of St. Bonaventure, "One morning, towards the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, while he prayed on the side of the mountain, he beheld a seraph with six wings of flame descend from the heights of heaven. Swooping down towards the man of God, he drew nigh, but touched not the ground. Then between the wings of the seraph was seen a Man Crucified; His Hands and Feet were stretched and fastened to a Cross. Two of his wings were raised above his head, two others were extended in flight and the two remaining covered his body. The saint was in a strange wonder at this vision, in his heart was joy and sorrow mingled. Glad was he to see in this wondrous way the Lord in the guise of a seraph looking down on His servant; yet his soul was pierced with a sword of compassion to see Him thus nailed to the Cross. The unsearchable mystery of the vision filled him with deep anxiety, for he knew that the sufferings of the Passion were incompatible with the deathless nature of a seraphic spirit. Enlightened by God, he at length understood that Providence had granted him this favour

to show him that he must take the likeness of the crucified Saviour not by the martyrdom of his body, but by the holocaust of his soul. The vision disappeared, leaving in his heart a fire unspeakable and on his body wondrous marks. For straightway the marks of nails, such as he had just seen in the Man Crucified, began to appear in his hands and feet. His hands and feet seemed to be transpierced by these nails, their heads appeared in the interior of the hands and on the feet, and one saw their points project on the opposite side. These heads were black and round, and the points long, and as if bent back by force; they remained quite distinct after passing through the flesh. His right side bore also the imprint of a red scar, as if it had been pierced by a thrust of a lance, and frequently the blood flowed from this wound in such abundance that all the garments of the saint were soaked with it."

St. Bonaventure, as he tells us in his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, received an account of this wonderful happening from the companion of St. Francis who was with him at that time, as well as from the abundant other testimonies of Popes, Cardinals, Brethren and pious laity, many of which were testimonies on oath, which he mentions in the *Legenda Major*. There are very few events of the early thirteenth century of whose historicity we are so well assured. Even Sabatier has been obliged to admit the fact, though he questions its nature and significance.

We find in the description just quoted two sets of features, one physical and one psychic, which distinguished the Stigmata of St. Francis from

other recorded cases, and gives to them a unique note. On the physical side we have the nature of the marks, the presence of the "nails." On the psychic side we have the "predisposing" vision with its abnormal and paradoxical character. These two points, to my mind, are conclusive against Dr. Dumas's theory. Dr. Dumas, indeed, has felt the force of the objection to be drawn from the presence of the "nails" to such an extent that he has endeavoured to show that it was a misdescription due to imperfect observation by credulous folk. He thus contrasts the description given by Dr. Warlomont of the Stigmata of Louise Lateau with that of Thomas de Celano in the case of St. Francis: "While Thomas de Celano describes, after contemporary evidence, the round and black heads of nails which pierced the hands of St. Francis and their points which passed out on the other side, Dr. Warlomont notes in the case of Louise Lateau small wounds on the backs and palms which rest on slight indurations which can be moved. It is very probably the same phenomenon in each case, but the impartial observer sees 'slight mobile indurations' where the believer with an entire good faith sees heads and points of nails." Now, it is recorded in the case of St. Francis that several persons felt and moved the "nails," and it is said that St. Clare tried to withdraw one of the "nails," as it seemed loose and moveable. The projection of the points and their appearance of being bent back, show something more than lumps on the back and front of a hand. Dr. Dumas is inclined to smile at the credulity of Celano; perhaps he would smile at

Dr. Dumas who believes that a large crowd of observers of every rank and degree of intelligence would mistake a couple of small lumps in the hand of a dead man for the head and point of a nail. He forgets, too, that there was no reason at the time of St. Francis to expect the presence of nails, even if the stigmata themselves were to be expected. To produce such an illusion as Dr. Dumas postulates, its possibility must at least be expected; the mind of the spectator must be ready to give a false meaning to the facts he observes. It must be remembered that the phenomenon of stigmatisation was an absolutely new thing in St. Francis's day; no one could have had any theories about it, how it would occur, what it would look like. Clearly, then, if people saw what looked like nails, it was because something like nails were there to be seen and felt.

But given the presence of these nail-like growths or formations, the production of them by affective meditation on the Passion makes too large a demand on scientific credulity. Such abnormal growths as described by St. Bonaventure would need more time to form than we are given in the narrative.

The vision of the seraph, too, does not lend itself to Dr. Dumas's theory. It does not form with the subsequent Stigmata such a unity as would account for them. Not alone was St. Francis at first puzzled as to the significance of the seraph, but there is no evidence that he expected or desired such marks of his Master's Passion. It is not as if he had had a vision of Calvary, as some of those who came after him had. The vision, on Dr. Dumas's theory,

is not one from which we could expect its sequel. If we were to judge it from the *merely natural* point of view, it would indicate a dissociated state of mind, lacking a unitary urge capable of affecting the body in any marked fashion. It presents contrasts of joy and sorrow, of doubt and intuition, which would check each other in any nervous drive capable of producing somatic changes of marked abnormality. But enough of this naturalism! Let us leave Dr. Dumas and return to St. Bonaventure.

In the seventh chapter of his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, where he treats of the most sublime heights of contemplation, he takes the vision of St. Francis on Monte La Verna as the supreme exemplar of the mystic's flight to God. He regards it then in a sense as the culminating point in the Saint's life, who "was set up as an exemplar of perfect contemplation, as he was heretofore of action, like a second Jacob and Israel, that God through him might draw all truly spiritual men towards this transcendent passage of the spirit more by example than by precept (*ad hujusmodi transitum et mentis excessum magis exemplo quam verbo*)."¹ It was at once Thabor and Calvary; God glorified His servant Francis by uniting him with His Cross, and by the impress of the Stigmata gave to mankind the Divine endorsement of Francis's work, the crowning of His earthly spouse, the Lady Poverty.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit," was the message of Francis to Christendom when the glorious thirteenth century was young. It is his message to us to-day, when Mammon has almost

won the whole world from Christ. He chose Poverty as that one of the Evangelical Counsels which should mark out his Order from all others. Was it not, then, eminently fitting that the Divine endorsement of his message, the Stigmata, should recall to all mankind the Supreme Act of Poverty, Christ's Death on the Cross, "despised and rejected of men"?

Signasti Servum Tuum, Domine, signo redemptionis nostrae.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

NO Franciscan celebration in this place would be complete without some reference, however inadequate, to the work of John Duns Scotus. And this,—not merely because he is the greatest philosopher and theologian whom the Franciscan Order, so prolific in genius, has produced. Nor again, because we can trace back through him to the earlier masters whose work he continued and perfected, the beginnings of our university tradition. These are excellent reasons. But what interests us more immediately on the present occasion is the fact that, whatever may be thought of the nationality of Scotus, it is abundantly evident that Scotist studies owe much to Irish Franciscan scholars both before and after Father Luke Wadding, who, in 1639, brought out the first collected edition of the writings of Scotus.

It is curious that we know so little of the personal history of Scotus. Not much, even of legend, has grown about his name. He belonged, if you will, to a reticent age, incurious about its scholars. The life of a mendicant friar had little to arouse contemporary interest, much as there is which we, in a later age, would like to discern. And still, when all is said, it cannot but strike one as amazing that a writer whose theories, for hundreds of years, were the source of one of the great streams of medieval tradition has left so little trace of his personal story. We may, perhaps, regard it as another witness to the spirit of humility

and self-effacement which St. Francis had impressed upon his followers in the Middle Age—a spirit which, rejoicing in all the gifts of God and not least in the achievements of the intellect, could still accept and use them for the disinterested promotion of truth.

The cold winds of criticism have a little blown upon the tradition that Scotus was an Irishman. And still it remains, I think, a probable hypothesis, if not the most probable. We can at least say, negatively, that none of the other suggested hypotheses rests upon much better evidence. There are, apart from the Irish Franciscan tradition, two lines of evidence in favour of the Irish origin of Scotus. First there is his name, Duns Scotus, which, it is suggested, meant an Irishman probably from Down. This line of argument is not conclusive. Cardinal Ehrle is of opinion that the name "Duns" cannot refer to a place of origin, as the universal manuscript practice of the time always introduced the term "de" before such local names—so that the name should appear as *Johannes de Duns*. Moreover, it must be admitted that the term "Scotus," at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was used for a Scotsman. It is even argued, with some plausibility, that the term was at that time predominantly so used.

A second line of argument rests upon an entry in the catalogue of the Franciscan library at Assisi, drawn up by Brother Giovanni de Collo Soldani in the year 1381, which expressly mentions that Scotus was "de provincia Yberniae"—"of the Irish province." This would be quite final, as it is at once the earliest and most definite reference

to the nationality of Scotus; but, unfortunately, it can be shown that the writer of the catalogue is very unreliable—particularly in matters of geography. Still, this entry remains the earliest evidence from within the Franciscan Order itself, and the evidence in favour of Scotus being either an Englishman or a Scotsman is still more scanty. At the moment the best attitude is, perhaps, a suspense of judgment.

If the Johannes Douns mentioned in a letter, in the year 1300, written by the English Provincial of the Friars Minor, Hugh of Hartlepool, to the Bishop of Lincoln, be in fact Duns Scotus, this would be the earliest mention of him that has survived. It is not, however, quite certain that the reference is to Duns Scotus. The first indubitable reference is contained in a letter of the Master General of the Franciscan Order, Gonsalvi, written in the year 1304, recommending Duns Scotus, who was already a Bachelor of Theology, to be presented to the Chancellor of the University of Paris, in order to "incept" (as it was technically called) as Master or Doctor of Theology. This "inception" meant the admission of the candidate by the existing Masters into their Society. The "inception," or admission, was the origin of degrees in the University of Paris, and it included a licence to teach, granted by the Chancellor of the University, who was (at Paris) the Chancellor of the Cathedral Chapter. This document is worth quoting :

"From Brother Gundisalvus rejoicing in the Lord, to his most dear Fathers, William the warden at Paris, or his vicar, and to the Masters.

"With respect to the advancement of our beloved Father in Christ, Giles of Legnano, concerning whom I have been informed by your letter, it is desirable, in accordance with custom, to provide for the presentation of another brother on the same occasion. And since according to the statutes both of our order and of your Convent, the Bachelor to be presented at this present time should belong to a province other than that of France, I commend to your loving care our beloved brother in Christ, John Scotus, of whose laudable life, admirable knowledge, and most subtle genius, in addition to other qualifications, I have knowledge, partly from personal experience, and partly from his reputation, which has everywhere been noised abroad; in order that you may present him in due sequence, next after the aforesaid Father Giles. I command you under holy obedience to make this presentation with the proper solemnity, without much expense. If, however, you have knowledge that the Lord Chancellor is willing to licence two of our brothers at once, I wish Brother Albert of Metz, if he is able to return to the Convent, to be promoted with the said brother John. In which case I command and ordain that the said brother Albert, on account of his age, incept before the above-mentioned Brother John, who shall follow immediately after him. Fare well in the Lord, and pray for me.

"Given at Ascoli in the province of the Marches of Ancona, November the 18th, 1304."

According to tradition, Scotus died at Cologne in the year 1308; and it seems probable that at his death he was still quite a young man. The date of

his birth is uncertain, but it would seem to be a reasonable inference from the letter of the Master-General Gonsalvi that, in 1304, the date of his inception at Paris, he was not advanced in years. His works in the edition of Wadding, as reprinted in Paris by Vives, fill twenty-six quarto volumes averaging some 750 pages each. Much of this consists of commentary by various scholars and annotators, and some of the works ascribed to Scotus are undoubtedly spurious. But what remains is a remarkable testimony to his industry. This immense material is not so unmanageable as it might at first seem—because many of these works deal with precisely the same problems as they came before Scotus's attention at different times. His chief theological works are Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, the theological textbook of the period. These are the so-called *Opus Oxoniense* and the *Reportata Parisiensia*. Tradition has it that the first was written at Oxford and consists of Scotus's lectures on theology at that University. The second is a report of similar lectures at Paris. The tradition that the Paris work is later in time than the Oxford has recently been attacked by Father Pelster, who contends that Scotus returned to Oxford after his visit to Paris and composed his Oxford treatise at the time of his return. Such are briefly the ascertainable facts in the life of Scotus.

It is not my purpose in this paper to attempt any connected account of the philosophy of Scotus. Such an account would not be possible in the limited time at my disposal. To those who already while to those who have not studied medieval

understand such matters it would seem superfluous; philosophy it would communicate, I fear, merely a lively sense of the inadequacy of the lecturer. There is a reason for this which it is interesting to notice. The medieval philosophers of the Golden Age of Scholasticism are in method empiricists. And whereas the philosophy of many modern philosophers can be deduced from a few leading principles, or from some central idea, as, *e.g.*, in the case of the philosophy of Descartes or of Kant, with philosophers like St. Thomas or Scotus it is quite different. Their method resembles rather the method of the physical sciences. The evidence for each problem must be considered on its own merits. There are, indeed, guiding ideas and principles, but they are themselves rooted in experience, and for this reason, their philosophy cannot be neatly compacted; there are no principles from which its conclusions emerge by deduction.

I propose, then, in this paper to devote my attention to a task of a different kind. I desire to bring out, if I can, the significance of Scotus in the development of medieval philosophy, the peculiar place he occupies in the history of medieval theory. I shall endeavour to show why Scotus adopts a certain line, frequently in opposition to certain theories of St. Thomas. For it is vital to the comprehension of the philosophy of Scotus to realise that there is nothing arbitrary or merely wanton in the attitude he adopts—that his philosophy is the final development of a great historical sequence, the supreme point of a tradition which can be traced back through a series

of distinguished thinkers to the philosophy of St. Augustine.

If we seek the sources of inspiration of the medieval schools of thought we shall find ourselves working back along various paths, but the main road will lead us, not, as many may suppose, to Aristotle, but to St. Augustine. Medieval speculative writers are *par excellence* theologians. The amount of purely philosophical literature in comparison with the total output is in fact inconsiderable. And in matters of speculative theology the influence of Augustine in the Middle Ages is paramount and decisive. And not merely in matters purely theological. When the world of Graeco-Roman culture fell to pieces before the barbarian invasions, it is not too much to say that what it principally bequeathed to the Catholic world in the West was the writings of St. Augustine. It would, of course, be a complete mistake to suppose that ancient culture—either in the sphere of government or in the sphere of letters—utterly disappeared during the period of the so-called Dark Ages. Unhappily, a direct acquaintance with Greek literature and Greek philosophy did almost vanish amongst Western writers. This tendency had manifested itself at an early period. It is doubtful if St. Augustine himself knew Greek, and Pope Gregory the Great, who spent many of his earlier years at Constantinople, had not been at pains to learn it. But much of Greek culture had already been absorbed into the Christian system. In the sphere of speculation—to take a single instance—St. Augustine himself is essentially a product of the Greek schools. And

Augustine is, perhaps, the greatest speculative mind which the Christian Church has produced—certainly the most original and brilliant of her theologians, and only surpassed by St. Thomas Aquinas himself in the genius for system.

Great as is the interest of the subject, I cannot here discuss the many lines of influence that contributed to the making of St. Augustine's thought. On the philosophical side, which is our present interest, Neo-Platonism exercised the deepest influence. St. Augustine had been drawn away from the Manichaean doctrines through a study of Neo-Platonism, which thus formed a stage in his progress towards the Church. The controversy which has raged around the exact extent of Neo-Platonic influence upon Augustine's thought is somewhat idle. There are obvious points of contact between Christian theories and the doctrines of Plato and Plotinus. There are equally obvious points of divergence. But there need be no difficulty in recognising that, on the philosophical side, St. Augustine may be broadly ranked as a Platonist. St. Augustine incorporated Platonism in the Christian scheme of thought by the simple device of placing the Platonic world of ideas in the mind of God. They are the exemplary ideas in accordance with which God creates the universe. This, of course, may be regarded as an essential change in the whole meaning and significance of the Platonic theory, but it enabled Augustine to continue, as it were, the Platonic tradition in a Christian environment.

Again, in his theory of the nature of evil we see very clearly the influence of Neo-Platonism. It is

similarly influential in many other directions—in his doctrine of the soul, of immortality, of free-will, of the graded scale of being in the universe from the lowest matter up to God. St. Augustine is, as I have said, a Platonist. But his mind was too vast and too many-sided adequately to be expressed by any formula. His personal contribution to thought—both theological and philosophical—is more important than any of the cultural traditions that passed through him to later times. His influence on all succeeding ages has been extraordinary. As a literary artist, again, St. Augustine is in the first rank. While his power of acute psychological observation is unequalled, not merely in the sphere of mystical experience, but over the whole range of the mind's powers and functions.

The opening Middle Age, then, was familiar with the remarkable effort made by Augustine to furnish a speculative basis for Christian dogma. And we may say in a general way that early medieval philosophy—up to the translation of the Aristotelian writings in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries—developed almost exclusively on the lines laid down by St. Augustine. This Platonic type of thought made known to the medieval world by St. Augustine—the so-called Platonico-Augustinian tendency—continued to exercise a great (it may even be argued, a preponderant) influence, after the discovery of the Aristotelian writings. The entire Franciscan school, containing some of the greatest names in medieval speculation—Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Duns Scotus—continued the

Augustinian tradition, loosely or closely combined with Aristotelianism, right through the thirteenth century and later. There is, one may say, complete continuity between the great systematic works of St. Augustine and the *Summae* of the Middle Ages. The effort to include the whole Christian system in one comprehensive survey which St. Augustine had made in the *De Civitate Dei* from the point of view of the philosophy of history, was continued in a no less impressive way on the dogmatic and philosophic side by thinkers like Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. Augustine continued to be the source of theological inspiration. The more exclusive Aristotelianism of St. Thomas Aquinas was regarded in his own day as a serious breaking away from the tradition of the Schools, and was attacked as such with much vigour even by members of his own Dominican Order.

The Thomistic system has so impressed itself upon the Christian mind, its predominance in the theological world has been so imposing, that it seems difficult to realise that St. Thomas in his own time was regarded as breaking with old traditions and introducing novel and daring methods. The Platonic type of thought, bequeathed to the Middle Age by St. Augustine, found its highest and purest expression in the work of St. Anselm. He is the last of the great theologians relatively untouched by the thought of Aristotle. For while the tradition of St. Augustine survives right through the Middle Age, after the twelfth century it is no longer the pure Platonic stream of thought. In the late twelfth and early

thirteenth centuries there came to the learned Western World an immense intellectual stimulus of a novel kind with the translation of the works of Aristotle. The early Middle Age had known merely an excerpt from Aristotle's logical writings. But now the main body of his thought was revealed in translations by Spanish and other scholars. These translations were at first made not directly from Greek, but from Arabic, and with them came translations of the works and commentaries of the Arabian scholars themselves. The new world of thought thus revealed presented Western philosophers and theologians with unaccustomed problems. To an age so eager about ideas the opening up of new horizons of thought was certain to lead to much intellectual effort and readjustment. The writings of Aristotle were eagerly received in the Schools. But at a first glance at least, there were many aspects of Aristotelian philosophy which seemed opposed to Christianity as well as to the Augustinian tradition until then dominant in the theological schools. These precise points were emphasised and enforced by the Commentary of Averroës—the greatest of the "Arabian" commentators. And so we find in the early thirteenth century ecclesiastical prohibitions touching the writings of Aristotle. The works of Aristotle are not to be adopted as text-books in the schools of philosophy until they have been examined and freed from errors.

Aristotelianism, then, did not win its way in the medieval world without a struggle. The dominant Augustinian tradition seemed to stand for a different type of thought—not radically different,

for Aristotle's philosophy itself arose out of Platonism, and never quite freed itself from the fundamental principles of Plato's thought. But the pure philosophy of Plato or of Plotinus seems more closely allied to the Christian spirit. On no one of the central doctrines of Christianity—the personality and providence of God, the nature and destiny of the human soul, the freedom of the will, the essence of man's moral experience and the character of the moral end—was the philosophy of Aristotle quite satisfactory to the Christian mind. Plato's philosophy had been modified to fit it into the Christian environment, and it remained to be seen whether the philosophy of Aristotle would admit of similar modification.

This task was accomplished by two men—Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas. But, although Albert was the first completely to master the Aristotelian writings, it was his pupil, St. Thomas, who really effected the revolution that made the Aristotelian rather than the Platonic tradition dominant in the Christian schools. Albert's philosophy never reached the systematic unity and cohesion which made the philosophy of St. Thomas so influential in later ages. Nor had Albert the wonderful gift of exposition for which St. Thomas is remarkable. His influence on the history of Christian thought has not been comparable to that of his pupil, although, in their own time, their names were constantly linked as representing the same type of thought. Albert, in fact, as we may gather from the references to him in the writings of Roger Bacon, was recognised by his contemporaries as the greatest of the Aristotelians.

If we seek a single formula to express the achievement of St. Thomas Aquinas, we may find it in the words of the late Dr. Baeumker that St. Thomas is "a synthesis of Augustine and Aristotle." Formulae of this kind, no doubt, are notoriously deceptive, and often convey no more than a half-truth. The personal contribution of St. Thomas is what counts in the history of speculation. All great thinkers sum up and synthesize the thoughts and traditions of their time, as did Aristotle in the ancient and Kant in the modern world. Augustine and Aristotle represent merely the two main streams of thought that met and blended in St. Thomas. The title prefixed by St. Anselm to his *Proslogium*—"Fides quaerens intellectum"—concentrates in a phrase the intellectual effort of the Middle Age. The thinkers of that time were men whose interests lay in the problems of religion. Religion, they supposed, must have a speculative basis. It is founded on revelation and accepted by faith. Yet it is not unrelated to reason. This speculative basis of the Faith, which St. Anselm sought, was found by St. Thomas Aquinas. The motto of his work might be "*Fides inveniens intellectum*."

So, after the lapse of years, it is apt to strike us. But it did not strike all his contemporaries so. And nothing, perhaps, is more interesting in the whole history of Christian speculation than the fact that, within five years of the death of St. Thomas, propositions drawn from his writings were censured, almost at the same time (in the year 1277) by Stephen Tempier, Bishop of Paris, and Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury.

I need not say that these theories were not censured as heretical, but they were set down as theories which should not be taught at Paris or at Oxford. Tempier's prohibition is aimed chiefly at the Averroists, but it contains some theses which, beyond doubt, represent well-recognised Thomist theories. The prohibition of Kilwardby is more directly aimed at Thomism, and is of all the more interest because Kilwardby was himself a member of the Dominican Order. He defends his prohibition in a letter, published by Cardinal Ehrle, to the Dominican Archbishop of Corinth, Peter of Conflans, who had written protesting against his action. Now, it is noteworthy that these prohibitions touch many of the points in which St. Thomas had departed from the earlier tradition of the Schools, and they mark, in effect, some of the chief points in which Scotus upholds the older type of theory or, if one prefers, gives new life within the now dominant Aristotelianism to the earlier traditions of the Schools.

There is a sense in which it is true to say that Duns Scotus is himself a pupil of Aquinas. His philosophy and theology presuppose and are based upon the new system which St. Thomas had perfected. One can realise this most readily by contrasting the treatment of problems by St. Bonaventure and by Duns Scotus. These two Franciscan scholars stand for the same type of theory, and, broadly speaking, share a common tradition. But while St. Bonaventure is quite familiar with the philosophy of Aristotle, he has not assimilated it. His method is the older method of St. Anselm. In him the two streams of thought

run side by side, but do not as yet commingle. With Scotus it is quite different. The whole method and technique of his philosophy are identical with those of St. Thomas. The task which Scotus sets himself is, broadly speaking, to defend the traditional Augustinian positions, such as we find them in St. Bonaventure. A defence along the older lines and with the older logical technique was no longer possible. And so Scotus attempts their defence with the new weapons forged by St. Thomas himself.

The differences between Scotus and St. Thomas, although of great moment, have been both misunderstood and exaggerated by modern scholars. More exact study, in recent times, particularly by a brilliant Franciscan scholar, Dr. Minges, shows that the precise significance of Scotus's theories has been commonly misunderstood. This is often due to the inapt use of modern formulae to express medieval theories to which such formulae are ill-adapted. In a paper like the present it would be tedious to go into minute detail, but I must refer in a passing way to some of the characteristic Scotist theories. It is customary to contrast the voluntarism of Scotus with the intellectualism of St. Thomas—the one standing for a primacy of the will, the other for a similar primacy of the intellect. And, no doubt, this is both true and important. Its importance, however, lies for the most part in the theological sphere. Scotus is following here an older Platonic and Augustinian tradition when he regards the good as logically prior to the true or the essence of the beatific vision as resting in love or *caritas* which he places in the will.

St. Thomas adopts the intellectualism of the *Nicomachean Ethics* when he insists upon the prior nature both of truth and of contemplation. These theories have a certain basis in psychology. Dr. Minges, however, has shown that the voluntarism of Scotus has none of the effects on his theory of knowledge which it is commonly supposed to have. Truth, for Scotus, is in no wise dependent on the will, either human or divine. The idea that Scotus regarded judgments as true because God wills them so is completely mistaken, and on this matter his theory is identical with that of St. Thomas.

The same is true of his theory of the universal. It is commonly stated in the histories that Scotus defended some form of extreme realism, but Dr. Minges has shown that this also is a mistake and that he in fact accepted what has come to be called the theory of moderate realism—a theory almost universally held by the philosophers of the later thirteenth century.

Perhaps the most characteristic difference between St. Thomas and Scotus lies in their theories of matter and form. These conceptions, together with the wider notions of potency and act, are central in the theory of Aristotle. They in fact mark his divergence from Platonism and his effort to give an adequate metaphysical explanation of the problem of *change*, a problem which the system of Plato (in Aristotle's view) had quite failed to solve. They afford an explanation also of the gradations of being in the universe, from the mere potency of first matter up to the essential energy or utter actuality of God. St.

Thomas takes over these Aristotelian theories and gives them a deeper significance. The concepts of potency and actuality or realised being are, perhaps, the most significant metaphysical ideas in his entire system. Scotus works with the same ideas, but he greatly complicates his theory of matter by his effort to work into the Aristotelian system the Augustinian idea of "*materia informis*." Again, he stands for the theory of the "plurality of forms" in complex entities, whereas St. Thomas defends the contrary theory of the unity of the substantial form. In addition, it has been universally held that Scotus attributes the hylemorphic composition to pure spirits—that he regards both the human soul and the angels not, as St. Thomas did, as pure forms, but as composed of form and matter. It has recently been shown by a German scholar, H. Klug, that this is true only of the earlier form of Scotus's theory, and that both in the *Opus Oxoniense* and the *Reportata* he adopts the Thomist view of the immateriality of pure spirits.

This tendency in recent research to emphasise the agreement in the general lines of their philosophy between St. Thomas and Scotus is a useful corrective of the older views which frequently rested on no exact investigation. Yet it must be admitted that the reader of Duns Scotus is struck by the intense and ardent opposition to Thomistic views which meets one on every page. Scotus is unfortunate—and what philosopher would not be?—in his contiguity to so rare a genius. He is compelled to emphasise points of divergency, to assume an over-critical attitude

to the "frater quidam," as he calls St. Thomas, never mentioning him by name.

But, in a popular lecture of this kind I must not pursue these complicated problems of the Schools. I hope that I have said enough to show the abiding interest that attaches to the philosophy of Scotus. If any proof were needed of his power and brilliancy it can be found in the fact that his philosophy could hold its own, side by side, with the philosophy of St. Thomas himself. It is impossible adequately to grasp the meaning and the development of medieval thought apart from a careful study of Duns Scotus. I should go further and suggest that the perfect Thomist is he who has been tried in the searching fires of Scotist argument. Scotus, admittedly, is a difficult and subtle writer—but if one is not prepared for difficulty and subtlety one had better avoid the study of "divine philosophy." Nature will always remain much more subtle than any of the intricate webs of thought we may weave to fit her. But to those who are capable of such severe studies the philosophy of Duns Scotus will have a perennial value as the effort of a penetrating and subtle genius to deal with problems which can never lose their interest for the discerning mind.

AN BRÁTAIR DOCT D'ÓRD NAOMH PROINNSIAS I STAIR NA h-ÉIREANN

[Slíocét ar Léigseacht a thug Domhnall Ó Sienna uairí
ar—“ An Brátaír Doct i Stair na h-Éireann.”]

1 S beag duine a bhfuil a ñeagán no a mórán eolair
aige ar ñeacá ñaomh ñhoinnriar ná c' ñfuil fíor
aige gur éi ré trí Órdo ar bun ran Easglair mar
atá (1) Órdo na mBrátaír m ñoict; (2) Órdo ñeac
Riagalta a ñaibh ñaomh Cláre mar Céad- ñaótarán
oiféa, agus (3) na Tréaraité. Agus goirtear de ghnáe
Céad Órdo ñaomh ñhoinnriar, ñara h Órdo ñaomh
ñhoinnriar agus Tréar Órdo ñaomh ñhoinnriar ñaoibhá
rin. Tá na Trí h Órdo go láidír, go tréan agus go
fóipileacán go fóil agus i gcuimheacá a céile tá ñia
níor lioinníte ná Órdo ar bith eile ran Easglair.

Ní h é an dualgas atá oifíte arnocht trácht ar bith a
ðéanamh ar ñeacá ñaomh ñhoinnriar fén, ná ar a
ñaoibhá i gcoitcínne, ac' reo: Gur fár an t Órdo a éi
ré ar bun c' ñapairí ñin agus c' ñór ñin go ñaibh ré
ar a éumair ran ñliain 1217 fad ip b'í ré fén beo a
éuit ñráitíre ñoicta do éi go dtí an ñóman ñoip,
go dtí an ñeapmáin, go dtí an ñngair, go dtí an
Spáinn agus go dtí an ñrainnce. Agus b'í an t Órdo
reapca ar fud an ñómain mór ná c' ñór ful a ñfuair
an ñaomh fén bár ra ñliain 1226. Táimuid cinnite
anoir go dtáinig na ñráitíre ñoicta ñ' Órdo ñaomh
ñhoinnriar go h ñéireann roimh bár an ñaomh é fén;
agus ré an céad teac den Órdo a ñfuil cuntar cnuinn
a ñaomh air—an ñeacáil 1 ñeacáil 1 gConndae

Coimbaíse. Cuirpeadó an coinbeint reo ar bun raibhláin 1224. Tá cuntair agáinn forta á pá so riabhadh na Bráidíre Docta annreó in Éirinn fan bliain 1214; ach ar éuma ar bith tig linn a theicfíor-éiminte so riabhadh ra thír reo roimh an bliain 1224.

Ón céad lá ariamh a leas riad cor ar éalaí na hÉireann, b'í moí agur urpaim agur ónóir do na Bráidíre Docta ra thír reo. Leoga, o'fheádfaimír a pá so riabhadh agur so b'fhuil trácht-éangeal rpiopradálta agur coparlaíct ionganta meoine agur aighe idir na Bráidíre Docta a támis inar mearc agur muintir ár dtíche féin. Agur, inr an méid rín, séið muid míniú ar an tóigé ar éirig leo muintir na hÉireann a charrainnt leo agur an tóigé a b'fhuair riad Éireannais b'gá na haimprise rín le hiaid a leanúnach agur a dul iirteacáin inr an Óir. B'í Shaedéal agur Hall—b'í an creibdeamh céadtaí aicu agraon an trácht úd, b'í an Noghmánaíc éó maití leir an rean-Shaedéal ag coimhlínt le céile fiacail cé ba mó évideocheád le. Agur mar rín, ba shainfí so riabhadh coinbeintí, so riabhadh ionair agur áruiur diaðantaír agur oideacáir ag fáir aníor i ngeach ceárlaí den thír. Carrainnt riad agur óriúil riad éuca vísreacáit, omór agur catranaíct na nuaime i b'fada níor éifeacáití agur níor tréigre ná mar fíonne Óir ar bith eile dá riabhadh ra thír reo. Agur b'í na Bráidíre Docta éó físe fuaiste rín i rtáir agur i raoisgal na tíre so b'fheadáim a pá gur thearc na nuaime agur gur rmaoinis riad ar Ólom Óthoimhriar mar Ólom de éirí na hÉireann.

Ba maití liom aonair ríochtúir a éabhairt thír ar rtáidí na tíre reo nuaír a támis na Bráidíre Docta éusgáinn. Leat-éadó bliain i nuaír é teacáit na Noghmánaíc so hÉirinn, b'í b'fuisgean agur aéiríann agur gleo anro agáinn i hÉirinn nád' riabhadh éagcorainnail leir an b'fuisgean

Agur leir an chroíl a b'í ar riúbal ar Mór-Roinn na hEurópa agur i Sarain fén. Dé mar b'í fén b'í duifeasr mór roip an chroblóid a b'í i nÉirinn agur an chroblóid a b'í in rna haitsealaí eile. Ar Roinn na hEurópa, b'í eisge-amaí i n-éadán na rean-fundúireáctas, i n-éadán na rean-nóráanna agur na rean-fnára, le raoi náisiúnta inp na tionscá rin a látoiriú agur a neartú agur a chur ní ba daingne ar a doras. Dé in Éirinn b'í tréan-iarracht á théanamh le na Saedheil a chur raoi éoir. Agur cé b'í á gcur raoi éoir? Ní hiad na rean-taoirísh ná na rean-ríse Taeðealaíca ac b'íad na hallmhuirísh, na Saill, agur na ríomhadtóirísh a tuis Diairmuid na nGall leir 'na tíre reo a b'í ag chroíl agur os comhphac le n-ári muintir agur á gcur raoi éoir. B'í Domhnall Mór O Domhnaill ina Rí ar Tír Chonaill, ar feirmanach, ar éirid de Cúige Connacht agur ar éirid de Oirgialla. B'í Mac Loélainn ina Rí ar Tír Eogain—dúcais a raih O'Neill ina mairtír uiréi go gearr ina thairbh rin. B'í O Briain ina Rí ar Tuadh Mumhan agur b'í Mac Cárthaig Mór ina Rí i nDeargmúhan. B'í dian-chroíl agur Saill-éomhac de ríor roip na Ríse Taeðealaíca agur na Flaithe rin ar éadair amáin agur na Saill ar an taoibh eile—ré rin, na Normánaísh a raih an éirid eile uilis den tír, féadair a raih, raoi n-a rítiúraí. Agur raoi! caitífimíod a stóráil gur minic a b'í mion-éogair agur earráontar roip na Taoirísh Taeðealaíca iad fén ran am rin.

Mar rin tá ré roiléir go raih thá threan ra tír reo a raih an níni ran feoil acu thá céile, a raih ríoracháin agur ríor-earráontar earráonna nuaire a támis na hÉireann docht inar mearc. B'í oíreaois de duifeasr earráonna agur b'í eadair an oirdéice agur an lá—i n-éireadh, i noligste, i gcanamhain, i nóráanna agur inp an leagan-amaí agur inran dearcadh a b'í acu. B'í

riad é ó hÉagsoráin le céile agur tiochair le thá
 Óireamh Daoine a bhéit agur iad a bhéit ina gcomhuriúde
 rai tír céadtha. Nuair a tainis na hUráidhe Doctha fuair
 riad go raibh na caitheamh agur na bailte móra i Láma
 na Normánaid agur eacúthainas agur coiséimis ina
 gcomhuriúde ionta. Ói bádhúin agur ballai móra
 Lárojhe éart ari na caitheamh agur ari na bailte rin agur
 ní raibh ré ceathairc as na Saill a ói ina gcomhuriúde
 ionta baint ná caróireamh a bhéit acu leir na Saeóil.
 Do réir nór na mBhrácaí mBhocht ari Mór-Roinn na
 hEurópa, évaló na céad hUráidhe go dtí na caitheamh
 agur na bailte móra agur éuiri riad fúca annrín. Ói
 ré fuairt Daoibhá rin a déanamh riocair go raibh na
 Planosíri, a raibh maoin agur raiúbhreag na nDael
 acu go loctaí, go raibh rin toilteanaí mainistreacha,
 tighe pabail agur eaglaisí a tógsáil agur a éuir ari bun
 Daoibhá. Ina ceannta rin ói toradh móri ari focal Ri
 na Sarana tall ra Róimh le linn an ama seo, agur
 d'fág rin i gcuimdeacá na cuimdeacá go raibh cuim
 móri i gceart Saranaid agur Normánaid i mearc na
 mBhrácaí mBhocht agur go raibh an t-Uaéatarán ari an
 Óirí i nÉirinn ina Saranaid no de fíolraíodh na Saranaid.
 I dtúir ama mar rin, riad na Saill i fóid a éis cuimí
 do na hUráidhe, cídeadó go raibh corr-éadairgead corráin
 le hua hUráin i dTuad-Mumhan a cuimíodh leo. Tóis
 reirean agur bhrón ré ofá an Maimirtíp in Inniú i
 gConndae an Chláir, aic ní raibh ré fuairt do na Ríte
 agur do na Taoisí Saeódealacha móran cuimíodh a
 éabhairt uata go cionn tamall ina tháidh rin. Ói na
 hUráidhe de cime Saeódeal tearc ran Óirí. Ói rin
 nádúrtha go leor de bhí de guri rna caitheamh agur in
 rna bailte a ói faoi rítiúraíodh na Normánaid a éuiri riad
 fúca céad uair. Aic i ndiaidh a céile, do réir mara ói
 riad ag leatnú amach ari fud na tíre, tóisí na Saeóil

A tseáct iptimeach go lionmhar fán Óир. Lean an tseáct mar rín go dtí an 15aό doir—na Saeóil ag eilpse níor lionmhairfe agur níor neamhthairfe.

Bí comhlint agur comórtar idir na Saeóil agur na Saill le máirtitheacét fáil ari an Óир in Éirinn. Tá leitir ari fáil a ríomh an tEarfoc Ó Cíoróis, Earfoc Cill Dara, chun Edward I. i Sarana, mar thúbaingt ré: “So náibh impearán, earrontar agur comhlaic do ríor de bhrí na comhaiple ficheáitíos a tuis ragairt áitiúigthe ag labairt i n-Áeóilis agus nádó leir na daoine go náibh ari ceart acu ó Dia, ó nádúir agur ón Easglair tróití ari ron a dtíre agur an Saranaí a chur faoi chuir agur a óibhírt ar an tír.” Mol an t-Earfoc reo do Rí na Sarana, na ragairt a b'í ari éadó na hÉireann a óibhírt ari na comhbeintí a b'í ruitíte in áit ari b'í ari mearaó go náibh contabhairt do Sarain ann. I leitir eile, raibh 1283, tá reo ríomhócha: “Sup hreann von Rí gan Éireannac ari b'í a b'íte ina Áir-Éarfoc ná ina Earfoc in Éirinn, mar go labhrann riad i gcomhnaí i n-aigairí an Rí agur go gcomhingeann riad a dtéanagn féin—an Áeóilis. Mar rín énna na Sagairt o' Óir Ó Naoimh Dominic agur o' Óir Ó Naoimh Phionnriar Úráidh mór von Áeóilis.” Cuirpeadh Áir-Uaictarán an Óir uile go hÉireann raibh 1291 le roinnt agur riocán a théanamh faoi na huidhí reo, aí éamainig ré le mola ó Edward I. Cuid de chonradh na cuairte reo gur tógaí ari láimhe na mBhácaí in Éirinn an comhacht a b'í acu go dtí rín, agur a ba ceart a b'íte acu i gcomhnaí do huirí huidhí an Óir, le n-a n-Uaictarán féin a tógaí annaíeo in Éirinn agur gur tuisgeadair an comhacht rín von Áir-Uaictarán ra Róimh. Sin an ríu a fuaíri riad ari iad gearamh le n-a ndaoine agur le teanga a dtíre féin.

Sa bhliain 1325 b'í 32 mainistíri in Éirinn, agur Áir-

éliú agur áitio-mear ari na ragairt d'Óis Ó Naoimh Proinntíriar ag muintir na hÉireann agur le rin a chruachú níl agam ac a mheire thíb gur hainmniú nó gur tógsaó 20 duine acu mar Earfuisce ra thír reo. Ir innpéire an ríod é gur i Éire an céad thír mar ainnmíos an gnáct-éleir Órácair Docht d'Óis Ó Naoimh Proinntíriar le beit ina Earfoc. Tápluisce reo in Ailfínn ra bliain 1244 agur b'é an Órácair a tógsaó an uairi rin an Órácair Tomáir Ó Cuinn. Agur inneoin nári coirpiceadó é mar Earfoc an trácht rin tógsaó é 8 mbliana ina ótairi rin fa bliain 1252, agur coirpiceadó é mar Earfoc Cluain Mac nEoir. An ríod a minneadó i Ófáidhre Ailfínn, minneadó é 1 gceitíre cinn téadas d'fáidhre eile ina ótairi rin ón bliain 1247 go dtí 1320. Ós a mbunúr reo uilis ina hÉireannais, ac b'í na hEarfuisce a hainmniú go thíreac ón Róimh ina Normánais nó ina Saranais i gcomhainde—an toradh a b'í ari focal Rí na Sarana i gcuimhnt an Phápa mar duibhaint mé ceana fém a ba éiontais le rin. Tá ré iontuithe ari a Ófáidhre náiróte agam go raibh an Saranaí ac a ndícheall ag tarrfaingt an tráchtas taoibh amáin ac go raibh na hÉireannais i nÓis Ó Naoimh Proinntíriar vilír dá muintir fém. Agur tá rin roiléiri ón dóis ari ainnmíos an gnáct-éleir iad le h-iad a beit ina hEarfuisce in Ófáidhre ari ríod na tíre.

B'férdirí go vilí go raibh na Órácaire Órácair ari chroí agur ag achrann ari éiríteanna poilitiúdeachta i gcomhainde agur go raibh ríad ag téanamh failte i ngnótaí na hEaglaise ac ní mar rin a b'í. Ós mear agur áitio acu ari fóglúim agur ari léigheann agur b'í áití-rcoláiri ina mearc. I dtírúta an am a reo, tápluisce ari Mór-Róimh na hÉireann cineál te rcoilt nó d'earaontar iorí na Proinntíriaránais—earaontar fa dtaoibh den dóis a rabhar ag coinneáil an dli a minne

Naomí Phionnriar féin. Níodh nádó hiongnaó, bí an reoilt seo in Éirinn forta ac má bí féin, níodh beag ruairí ac a bí inti in Éirinn agus ní raibh ré deacair an rceal a réitóideas roip an tA Éiream. Fá é ceann tamaill, bí na fir óga uilis ag dul i ríteas i nDream amáin acu agus ba teafic duine a bí ag dul i ríteas ra Dream eile; agus mar sin éuis an tUaictapán a bí ari an tA Éiream gur bfearrí go mór a dul i Scuirdeacáta céile agus éuaitó rí fad leir an Chabideal a bí ari riubal ag an céad Dream agus t' eisig rí ar a uaictapán ariamh ó fin ruairí.

Nuaír a bhrí tuille na hainmíorthíocáta amach in aimpriú Henry VIII, bí na Bráidíre Bochtá roip Normánais agus Éireannais go hiongantacáid daingean calma ina rearbamh in éadán an acharaíte a bí beartuithe a tdeanamh ari an Chreideamh. San am sin bí amuic 'rírtuis agus bhríreaoí agus tóigheaoí iad ceann i ndiaidh an chinn eile. B'éigín do na Bráidíre Bochtá a dul ari a reacnáid amach fírito na coillte, fírito na cnúic agus fírito na fléibhíte; mar aitheáil na rean-rceáltaí bí a chomh fém óiri ari ceann achan fir acu, agus i fomóra sin feair naomhá den Órd a t'fíoc go daorí le n-a chuid foláir ari bheith dílear don Chreideamh. T'fán curio acu in aice leir na rean-fóide, in aice leir an áit a raibh na comhbeintí ina rearbamh ac go raibh riad in áiteacá folais agus in rna haiteacáid ruairí ruairícaí sin minne riad a ndícheall a scuirí oibhre a tdeanamh. Bí curio eile acu ari riubal ari fud na tíre agus san de ghléas beo oíche acáid bheag fáil le híte éall ari i bpur ari a scoilteacíomh agus tóidean na hordóche fáil mar tdeipse ó na daoine. Tíos linn a ná annfeo san reacá san eagla, agus tíos linn a ná le fírinne, guribh iad na

Urbáitche Bocta agur a gcuimh oibhre le linn an chuaisteacha agur na géar-leanamhna a bhí agaínn an Phreoir in Éirinn ó aimsirí an Néanng VIII. a chinnis an Chreideamh beo an Phreoir in Éirinn.

Bí Teacá Noibíreac agur Teacá fógluma fá coinne na hÉireann uile acu in aice le Baile Óún na nGall i dTírconáill. Milleadh agur bpríreacó coinbeint Óún na nGall raibh i gbo agur de chairbhéir in b'éisgean Daoibheta imteacáit go Mór-Roinn na hEurópa le oideacár a fáil do na fir óga a bhí ag teacáit i ríteacá ran Óir. Seo marí támhais guri cuipeacó ari bun na coláirtí móra clúimhala in—Coláirte Naomh Antoine i lobán a cuipeacó ari bun raibh i gbláin 1607. Coláirte Naomh Iriúorí ra Róimh—an rasairt Lúcar Wadding a cuiptí an coláirte reo ari bun raibh i gbláin 1625; agur coláirte eile i bPrág—Coláirte na bPrionnriar-cánaí Éireannacha. Ba shoiridh go raibh ré le feiceáil ag an traoisal móri go raibh na coláirtí reo marí chroíre agur marí anam do oideacár, do fógluim agur do traoisal agur do fíobhalaítear na nGaeilgeach i gcein. Agur marí áiteacá ná marí fúnctúireacátaí fá coinne oideacáir ní raibh a ráiné ann le n-a linn. Ar na coláirtí reo támhais riad ina ríoligte—cuid acu leir na portanna iir aoiptoe agur iir céimíula ra Eaglais O'Fáil agur curid eile le Coróin na Maistirpeac O'Fáil. Deirtear linn nuair a ba gairme an géar-leanúint go raibh oíche n-Earboc déag O'Óir Naomh Prionnriar in Éirinn; agur, gan trácht ari na rasairt den Óir a cuipeacó faoi galar agur ari tuigeadh dhois-íde Daoibheta agur a tibhiseach marí Óeoigairíte, cuipeacó cun báir tuilleadh agur 100 duine den Óir agur ina mearc in b'friúir Earboc. Bí baint ag a mbunúr reo go léir leir na coláirtí Saelacha a cuiptí na Urbáitche Bocta ari bun ari Mór-Roinn na hEurópa.

Na féidiril rceal na gceád maidíreacáin rín innre a nocht, ac úéanfharad mē liom cípla duine aici le n-a chearbáint thíb goirdé é ó huair aghur é ó cíoda a fearuis riad ari ron an Chreidimh aghur ari ron na hÉireann. Seo roictúir thíb: Nuair a b' an Sagart Phroinnsiari Ó Maolána ina Caomhánach nó i gceannar ari comhdeaint Coiscíse raibhiam 1642, gádáin é aghur caitheadó i gceal i bpríomhán é. Nuair a ceartíodh é, dubdairt ré leo gur Urráchair Docht é. Nuair a évala riad rín, ní raibh rionór ari bheic mó-bhóir nó mó-olc do. Cuirreadó éadairíse éairt ari na méara, anprin curreadó tarriatú ari na hÉadairíse aghur idir gád méar curreadó comneál ari lárat. Níoróibh éadair gur lár an tarriatú aghur an t-éadair a b' ari na méara ac éadair i f' b' na méara agus doighiú, ní aibh féin a b' an feair naomhca calma ro ag ríomhainneadh. Ní raibh a tháinéar ari a intinn ac ag bhorú na gCaitlínocáid a bheic tilgear do Dia aghur don Chreidimh aghur dá dtír aghur ag iarratáid ari na hainmrioraí—na hÉimicis a b' a tháinéar—airíse a théanamh. Nuair a b' na méara uilis doisíte, éis an tiosraínaid fealltaid oifidh é do chroícaid aghur mar rín croícaid é aghur fágatú ari croícaid é ón II a.m. go dtí 5 p.m. B' ré marb aghur tugaid an corp go teacáid a thairbherid aghur o'fan a muintir féin a fáilte go bhrónaí ari feadáin na hoscé. 1 dtíráidh an 2 a.m. b' iongantair oiféa nuair a éonnaic riad go raibh an Sagart Phroinnsiari beo. Labhairt ré leo aghur dubdairt leo gur eagla bheic oiféa. Dubdairt ré leo gur oifidh Dia do a cheáidh ariair leir na hÉimicis a chur ari bhealaí a leara aghur iad a thiompoidh go dtí an Chreidimh ariair. D'iarraí ré oiféa rceala a éabhairt don Sodhearnor go raibh ré go beo beataidh. Ari élimintin rín don Sodhearnor, ní raibh an tiosraínaid gnána le rcaileadh ná le ceangal. Cuanidh ré 'un toisce le baile móir

raigdiúir agus r' oírtuise ré an rásairt a chroílait an dara h-uair. Tug riad leo chior píomhriair a bhí fá n-a corp agus leis an chior rím chroílait é aír gur bhrírealt a thuineál.

Agus an piocatúir seo r' Óiectiúr Mac Aodhaig, Earfoc Rois i gCoircais. Bí ré de tónar aír rím a bhítear ina phearam ar gualann Eogain Ruairí Ó Néill ag Beann Dorb. Óeirean a chuaigh an liodain ag gurúde rath Dé ar na hÉireannais agus curt rraigdiúir Eogain ag dul iarrteacáidh rath rím le bhuairidh fáil ar na Sarpanais. Sin an obair a bhí aír fad agus bí an bhuairidh agus an t-ádó ar airm Eogain. Bórd é támla do nuair a tháinig an charcáirt Óeireadó aír r' bliain 1650. Nofrálád a bheatha agus a phaoíche do, tá n-íarradh ré ar na hÉireannais an cairpleán i gCarrhaic an Dhoisíre a thábhairt rúar do na Sarpanais. Óiompair riad é ór comhair an cairpleáin amach agus iad den intinn go raibh r' toilteannach géilleadó doibh. Labair r' leis an rraigdiúir a bhí ag copairt an cairpleáin agus níos doibh phearam go daingean calma go dtí an deireadó. Ó agair r' iad gan géilleadó na phaonadó. Cuir rím phearas ar na Sarpanais. Seapairi riad na láma agus na géaga den corp. Tábhairt riad é agus é leac-mairidh ag curi fola go dtí an chinn a ba giosra daobhá agus chroí riad ar ceann de géaga an chinn é le rían a chapaill féin. Tá 277 blian caitte ó támhlairg an ghníomh miltinneach fuitheacáidh seo agus náidh dtig linn a bhí agus a ghlór agus a chuid cainnte a cluinnítear go fóil—a cluinnítear ag teacht chugainn r' Saeóilis binn blasta a ba dual do a chleacádó: "Seapairi go daingean calma go dtí an deireadó, ná géill don Sarpanac."

Ba mairt liom tá mbeadh an t-am agam rudo éigin a innre thíb fá na háiteacá ina nraibh Condeaintí ag Órdo Naomh Proinnsiariar ra thíp reo; fá na daoine a chuiridh leo na tigéidh reo a chur ar bun ra thíp reo, agur fá'n dea-g-obaip a minneadh ionta. Ác tá an t-am gairid agur tá an oifé ag eiríse deirdeánaí. Ó'fhiú léigeadct fá leit a chabairt ar an ceist rin i fén agur ó'féríodh go mbeadh an chaoi ann am éigin eile. Ác déanfaidh mé an méidh reo liubh anoir go nraibh condeaintí ag na Bráidheach Docta i gcuimh móri áiteacá in Éirinn agur ba leir an Tírlear Órdo cuiro de na tigéidh rin. Agur in lárcháir na hÉireann—i gCúige Connacht, go dtí an Lá inmhoí tá condeaintí den Tírlear Órdo ag obair faoi ríomhád Árdo-Éarbuic Chuama.

Ir fearr liom anoir trácht liubh ar an méidh a minne na Bráidheach Docta i gcuimhri Staire agur litriúchta na hÉireann agur forta ar ron Teangea agur Náisiúnachta na tíre. San am nár' féríodh tadaidh fáil clóbuailte in Éirinn, éuir na Bráidheach Docta innill cló ar bun i Lóbhán agur ra Róimh agur b'ar na háiteacá rin a chéad éigseann leabharlái coramail leir an Teagasc Chrioptairí a ríomh an Sagart Bonadventurie Ó hEogura; coramail le "Luceptna Fidelium" a ríomh an Sagart Ó Maolmhuire; agur a lán leabhrá viaða eile—leabharlái a bfuil árdo-mear oiféa ag ríomh agur ag lucht léiginn go dtí an Lá inmhoí. Nil iongantair ar bith go bfuil cuimhne ag Saeóil ar a ndéanfha Colgan agur Mac a' Óairt i Lóbhán. Chuinnis ríao, Óairilis ríao le céile agur éuir ríao ar fáil rtáir Naomh na hÉireann. Tá cuimhne go ríomh ar an obair a minne Pádraig Pléimeann agur Tomáir Sheasráin. Chuinnis ríao rin forta a lán eolair ar rudaí a baineas le círraí na hÉaglaise in Éirinn. Agur cé nár éuala trácht agur cuairtear ar an tSagart

Lúcar Wadkins? Eirean mar duibhingt mé céana féin a éi in Coláirte Naomh Iriodóri ar bun rà Róimh. Eirean a b'í mar Feapí Ionaithe mar atéarifá ag Easbuic na hÉireann éall rà Róimh. Agur inneoin go náibh ré ina comhnuidé rà Róimh, b'í a chroide in Éirinn agur da minic a rmaointe ag dul riap go dtí an tOileán a b'í ina luighe amuic i láir na raiinne móire—an áit a náibh a chuir daoine faoi bhraca an anáir agur an bhrón ag na Sáill. Eirean a chruinnis aifim agur éideadó agur aifgeadó agur a éi in gac nua a d'fhead ré go hÉireann le linn Eirge-amaic 1641 le curiú leir na raišdúiní calma faoi Eoghan Ruá a b'í ag iarráid na Laincír agur na rlaibhíad a gcaoleadh den tír. Cuirteadó leitir ó Éirinn go dtí an Phápa—leitir ón Árd-Comhaire a b'í ór cionn na nGael inran am. Inran leitir b'itear ag iarráid ar an Phápa Caipstineál a déanam den tSagart Lúcar Wadkins. Fuair an Sagart Lúcar an leitir agur níor éi ré éis an Phápa i. Cuir ré i bfolac i i mborca i gColáirte Naomh Iriodóri agur ní bhuairtar an leitir go dtí an bhliain 1872. Baod i rin an bhliain ar haistíos go Conbeint na bPrioinnriarscánaí i mbaire Átha Cliath an leitir rin agur curt mór de Láimhriúinní fíor-tábhactaí agur luachmara eile. Ruad eile ceileabhartach nó rolamhsteap Féile Naomh Pádraig ar fud an domáin uile, ac má gnísear iñ ar an tSagart Lúcar Wadkins a buirtheacar. Cuir ré ruim agur rpéir i gcomhniú i litriúct agur rpéis ré rtáir na bPrioinnriarscánaí Éireannach. Le rceál inntre ar an pháirt a glac na hUáidhe Docta in obair na hÉireann, le n-a aitír inntre doibh goidé minne riad ar clár na ghráccille annaíeo in Éirinn éaitínn rtáir na hÉireann t'innre tis ón tríomh náoir déag go dtí an lá inntiu. Nil Ond ar b'í eile agairt anro in Éirinn—agur ná b'fios éad ná m'fáram ar Ond ar

bíte eile rán focal rín—nár Óир ari bít eile agair a
a minne Saedil Daoibhá Féin Dáiríriú; a bfuil agur a
raibh an tlúct agur an t-inneacá Saedéalaí ionnta mar
bí rna Óráitche Bocht. Nár rasair ari bít eile agair a
a minne a rceal Féin de rceal na hÉireann a d'fhlainns
ari a ron—a minne Sáithe nuair a bí áctar uirctí agur a
fíl an deorí nuair a bí bhrón uirctí—mar minne an
Óráitche Bocht.

Tá na mílte piocáití ag níte tréarná na haigse agur
muid ag rmaoitiú ari an am a chuaidé éart. Tá na mílte
piocáití, aitheáim, ag níte tréarná na haigse agur
an Óráitche Bocht ina feáram i ngeáile uile céann acu.
An Óráitche Bocht go n-a éitheadó donn, gona aibid
donn. 'Téi muid é ina feáram ari gualainn na
dtaoifreach agur na níste nuair a bí an bhuair leo; agur
'téi muid é níor comháraí ariair Daoibhá nuair a bí an
caé caillte acu—nuair a bí riad i laige bhrí agur ari
earbairí ríuaig. 'Téi muid i gcomhnaidé é i Láthair le
congnáin agur comairle agur dea-fompla a éabairt
don duine Bocht agur é ag tróid le Comhaicta Óigeara
an traoisail reo ag iarráidé Óeicé ag raoirí ari allar
a malaí. 'Téi muid é ag tréorí ari nuaime ari
mácaíre an áir agur ra bocóis nó ra chabán ari éadair
an trléibhe—á tréorí ari béalac aithréití agur ag
fóillriú agur ag níteacá an chéarán Daoibhá go Riochácta
na hÉireann. 'Téi muid é ag fulaingt an báir agur an
ocraír le focal DÉ a chraobhcaileadó don tríuaig.
'Téi muid ari Mór-Roinn na hÉireann é ó lobán go
dtí an Róm—'téi muid é agur mear ari a focal ag
fáilte, ag taorí, ag níste agur ag párai, agur é
i gcomhá i gcomhá ag rmaoimeadó ari Éirinn agur ag
iarráidé cíur na hÉireann a cíur cinn cinn. Mar
aitheáim, 'téi muid é agur mear agur uirbair ari ari
Mór-Roinn na hÉireann; ac in Éirinn—ina círúntéair

réin—tá a meaócán réin óiri ari a céann—tá ré ari
riuðal ari a fíeánað, agur gan de áit aige le baint
faoi ran oíche ac puill uaigneacá imearc na gcnoc
agur na gcoillete agur na bpoirtað. 'Téi muio é as
fásgáil báir den ocrar i bpríorúin falaða mí-folláine;
nó 'téi muio é amuið ari na hoileáin iargiúlta ari an
córta éiari d'Éirinn—amuið ari na hoileáin cloeacá
fáirbá náð raið roð ná ruaimnear ac anroð agur ocrar
le fáil ionta—nó 'téi muio é a rcauðað ari riuðal go
dtí na hoileáin mí-folláine rím—na bapbadoer.

'Téi muio é mar an Brácair Doct Mícheál Ó Cléimis
as riuðal anior agur ríor an tír—eagla ari go
n-aistneocáirò é—eagla ari go bfeiceadó an namárd
é—ocrar agur tairt ari—Bráiceadóiri as feiceam leir
le n-a ósor agur le n-a éionn a éur ari an rpíce.
'Téi muio an Brácair Doct ro ran am a raið an rpíreit
duð agur an doðan dorca as riuðal rírio an tír as
cruiinniú agur as báiliú na gscuntar agur na rcmíðinn
a bí rcapca ari rudo na tíre; agur 'téi muio ari é as
obair ari rcað céicéie mblian i Mainistir Óún na nGall
le annalaða Riogaðt Éireann a éur le céile. 'Téi
muio an Brácair Doct agur báigneáidí agur gúnnaí
agur pileáir éiði raiðviúiri Cromwell as bágaírt ari
ac goiðe má 'téi, rearann ré i gcomáin go diong-
málta ari ron na tíre agur ari ron a Chreidim. 'Téi
muio é as fáil báir mar rúair an tCarboc Doctiur
Mac Aodhaagáin ari éráct mé lið céana ari. 'Téi muio
flaíte agur Þriónnraí na hEaglaíre á lois agur a
tosað riocair a éiði léisinn agur foðluma le dul i
gCaéairi na hOllamnaðta i nOllfcoil éigin céimiúil
ari Mór-Róinn na hEurópa; nó 'téi muio é in éitdeadó
fir doct nō in éitdeadó bácaig as imearct leir rírio an
tír leir an oitdeacar a bí cróta agur náð raið le fáil
ra báile aige a tábairt do páirti na hÉireann.

Cheis mire má tá Éire beo mar náisiún Caitliocaí
in oimí; má o' eisigis léi an gleo gábhéasach agus an cat
fuitheasach a phearann san rtaonach leis na 300 bliain seo
atá caitte agamh; má tá rím amhlairí aitheisim—agus
tá—cheis mire gupi don Uíráthair Óocht i f cóir d'úinn
a bheic buirtheasach.

FRANCISCAN MISSIONS

[The Lecturer did not read his address on the Franciscan Missions, but used only a few notes of names and dates, forming an outline of the subject. No verbatim report was taken. The following is a summary of the chief points, subsequently supplied by Mr. Atteridge, who preluded his address by saying that he felt honoured by the invitation to take this part in the Franciscan Week, and a special pleasure that the subject allotted to him was the Franciscan Missions, for he had taken a life-long interest in the Missions generally, and from his early years had been a friend of the Franciscans.]

THE record of the Franciscan Missions covers a period of seven centuries of apostolic activities in every part of the world. In a single lecture it is, therefore, only possible to give a very brief outline of this vast subject, calling attention to some of its more striking features and incidents.

The story of the Franciscan Missions—like that of Catholic missions generally since the thirteenth century—may be divided into three periods:—

I.—*The later Mediæval Period*—from the middle years of the thirteenth century to about the close of the fifteenth. At the beginning of this period most of Europe had been won to the Faith. Its expansion into Eastern Europe was menaced by the Mongol invasions; the Moors still held Southern Spain, and the African lands of the Mediterranean were under the control of the Moslems—in near Western Asia and Egypt the Crusaders were making their last efforts to stem

the rising tide of Mohammedan conquest. The field for missionary enterprise was thus limited to the Moslem lands of the Mediterranean region and the countries overrun by the Mongol invaders from Central Asia.

II.—The Period from the Closing Years of the Fifteenth Century to the Opening Years of the Nineteenth.—This period begins with the marvellous expansion of the foreign missions, which followed the discoveries of the Spanish and Portuguese navigators. Columbus had “found a new world for Castille and Leon,” and at the same time opened a new world for the heralds of the Faith; Vasco de Gama had rounded the Cape, and opened a new way to the Far East that was not barred by the Moslem conquest of the countries of the Levant. These discoveries came almost on the eve of the Reformation. They were followed by an immense development of missionary activity, which grew with the growth of the Catholic re-action, and won for the Church more than she had lost in old Europe, by new conquests in the lands beyond the seas. But the period closes with the dark days that marked the second half of the eighteenth century and the series of revolutions and wars in Europe that resulted in the temporary ruin of the missions.

III.—The Modern Period.—We may take as its beginning the reorganisation of the missions under Gregory XVI—not quite a hundred years ago. If we include in it some earlier efforts to regain the lost ground in the mission field, we may say it covers about a century. But (though comparatively few of us realise the fact) this may well be counted

the most wonderful and fruitful century in the whole history of the Catholic missions.

Let us now see what was the work of the sons of St. Francis in these three periods.

I

Their missions began with the foundation of the Order, for St. Francis himself was the first Franciscan missionary. In the *Fioretti* we have the story told of how “San Francesco convertì alla Fede il Soldano di Babilonia”—how “St. Francis converted the Sultan of Babylon to the Faith.” This little book of the *Fioretti*, a delightful classic of both Italian and Franciscan literature, mingles traditional legend and sober history in its stories of St. Francis and his first followers. Here we have the popular legend of the Saint’s mission to Egypt in 1223. It tells how, with twelve companions, the Saint went to a land of the Saracens where Christians were put to death; how he and his brethren were seized, beaten and taken in bonds to the Sultan of Babylon; and how the Saint preached the Faith before him, and won the Sultan’s admiration and friendship by his devotion and zeal, his refusal of rich gifts and his persuasive eloquence. More than once he talked with him, and the Sultan confessed that he felt the truth of his message; but told him that if he received Baptism at that time both he and St. Francis with all his brethren would be put to death, and he advised him to return to his own land, where he would do much good in coming years. St. Francis realised by Divine revelation that this was the

course he should take, but promised the Sultan that when he was dying two of the Friars would come to baptise him; and years after St. Francis, then with God in Heaven, appeared in a vision to two of the Friars, and they went by his bidding to the Sultan, found him on his death-bed and received him into the Church.

So runs the legend of the *Fioretti*, inspired by the idea of what might have been the reward of the friendly Sultan. The plain history of the mission is wonderful enough. The Babylon of Crusading days was Cairo. Its mediæval name was derived from an earlier Roman fortress close by, now a village with the Coptic monastery of Dar Bablûn (the Convent of Babylon), remaining as a memorial of its earlier importance. The Sultan of the year 1223 was the Caliph El Kamil, a nephew of the famous Saladin. It was a time of peace between Christian and Moslem. Two years before the coming of St. Francis, El Kamil had successfully barred the advance of the Crusaders under Jean de Brienne from Damietta, cooped them up among the rising floods of the Nile and forced them to surrender. He gave them generous terms, hurried abundant supplies to their starving camp, set free all his Christian prisoners and gave up the relics of the true Cross at Jerusalem. A truce of eight years was then solemnly concluded, and the Caliph was anxious to prolong the peace. He gave the Saint a friendly reception. His own Moslem creed taught him to admire poverty embraced in the service of religion. The Arab word "fakir" (a devotee) means literally a poor man. The personal charm of "the poor man of

Assisi" must have gone far to win the goodwill of the chivalrous Caliph. We may remember, too, that for pious Moslems Our Lord is recognised, not, indeed, as the Divine Saviour, but as one of the greatest of the Prophets, destined to come again in the last days and rule mankind in a Kingdom of Peace. I have myself heard a Mohammedan, an Arab of Upper Egypt, speak with deep reverence of "Issa ben Miriam," "Jesus the Son of Mary." So we can understand how Francis won El Kamil's friendship. But the Saint had not come to win the mere friendship of the ruler of Egypt. He could not convert him; neither could he win a martyr's crown in "Babylon." So he went back to Italy, whence three years later he passed to his reward.

But this incident of 1223 was no mere romantic failure. It was the starting point of centuries of that peaceful Crusade of the Franciscans in the Near East, which secured for them the guardianship of the Holy Places of Palestine. It is largely due to the sons of St. Francis that a Christian remnant survives in those lands of the Near East. One of my own happy memories is that of the joy I felt when, years ago, within an hour of my landing in Egypt at Ismailia, I came in sight of a church over which flew the white flag with five red crosses, a standard of crusading days, and still the banner of the Franciscan Guardians of the Holy Places. It was a link with home to find a Franciscan saying Mass, and his dark-faced Arab acolyte was a reminder of the long-enduring Franciscan mission in this Eastern land.

The Franciscan mission record in this mediæval

period tells of good work done not only in Egypt and the Holy Land, but also of missionary efforts in Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, in Asia Minor and in the Balkan lands. All this can be only thus briefly noted in order to turn to another field of enterprise in which the Franciscans were the intrepid pioneers while many were still living who had known their Founder. It is a chapter of mission history that should be better known. Here I can only trace it in outline.

In the early spring of 1245 Pope Innocent IV, presiding at the Council of Lyons, enumerated, as the "Five Wounds of Holy Church," some of the evils and perils of the time. Amongst them he spoke of the peril of the Mongol invasion that had overrun much of Eastern Europe and raided even the German lands—a conquering tide of aggressive paganism. The Mongol conquests are a chapter of history of which our popular manuals say little or nothing. A Catholic historian has claimed that the thirteenth was the "greatest of the Christian centuries." Few realise that in its middle years, when the Council of Lyons met, but for their faith in its endurance to the end of time men might well have feared that Christendom was to be submerged in this deluge of Asiatic barbarism. It was the time when Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas were the glories of the schools of Cologne, and artist workmen were rebuilding in all the beauty of the later Gothic the cathedral of Chartres and many more great churches all over the West of Europe. In the East a wide extent of the Russian lands was ruled by Mongol khans, and the wild horsemen from the steppes of Asia had but lately

scattered in battle the chivalry of Poland, Hungary and Austria, and watered their horses at the Danube. The Mongol power extended from the Pacific to the borders of Central Europe, and it had grown up in less than forty years, founded by Genghis Khan, and extended by his sons and grandsons. Genghis was a conqueror only to be compared with men like Alexander or Napoleon.¹ The rapid rise of his empire was followed by a strange arrest of the impulse that had animated its earlier conquests.

The westward flow of the Mongol deluge was soon to end when the Council of Lyons met, but none could foresee this. The Pope was anxious to enter into relations with this menacing power. He chose as his envoy an Italian Friar, Father John of Piano Carpini. He was to find his way to the court of the Great Khan of the Mongols, seek to establish friendly relations with him and his people, and find out what prospects there were for missions in their country.

¹ It is interesting to note that Genghis and St. Francis were contemporaries. When the Saint was born at Assisi, the future conqueror, a young man of about twenty years of age, was the chief of a small tribe of Mongol horsemen in Central Asia. By a series of wars he welded the Mongol and Tartar tribes into a great confederacy, making conquered races their subjects and auxiliaries. While St. Francis was founding his Order Genghis Khan was winning an empire that extended from Northern China through Asia to the Volga. He died a few months after St. Francis. His sons and grandsons added to the Mongol Empire Siberia, Persia, all China, and much of Eastern Europe. The Mongols raided India and for a while held Bagdad and Damascus. Their religion appears to have been a mixture of Buddhism and the local superstitions of their tribes. But they were tolerant of other creeds and protected the scattered and decaying Nestorian colonies of Central Asia and China.

Carpini started from Lyons on April 12, 1245, setting out upon one of the most venturesome journeys in all time. He took for his companions Fathers Stephen of Bohemia and Benedict of Poland, who had useful local knowledge for the first stage of the expedition. Travelling by Prague and Cracow, he reached Kieff in South Russia. The city had been raided a few years before by the Mongols, but Carpini found the Christians in possession, and discussed with their Duke Vassili and some Russian prelates the question of the reunion of East and West. Here he learned that Baatu Khan, the grandson of Genghis and conqueror of Eastern and Northern Russia, was camped on the lower Volga, apparently near the site of the modern Saratov. He was well received by Baatu, who, however, was only one of the lesser chiefs of the Mongol Empire. He told the Friars they must go to the Great Khan, Ottokai,² who was to be found thousands of miles away in Central Asia. Then travelling with trading caravans the Friars made their way eastward through lands yet unknown to Europe, and not fully explored till our own time. North of the Caspian they journeyed into Asia, then past the Aral Sea and over the

² The following is a genealogy of the earlier Mongol Khans :
Genghis (Jenghis) Khan.¹

Ottokai. ²			Tuli.
Ajuk. ³	Maangu. ⁴	Baatu.	Huchagu.
			Kublai. (Ruler of Persia.)
			Sherbani. (China.) (Siberia.)

The numbers indicate the succession of those who held the dignity of "the Great Khan."

Kirghiz steppes to the shores of Lake Balkash. Then the track rose into the highland country of Central Asia, a wilderness of wide plateaux with stretches of desert and intervening ridges of snow-capped mountains, which divides the higher plateau of Tibet from the Siberian plains. Through the passes of the Altai Range, they reached at last the Mongol capital, Karakoram—the “Black Camp”—on a stream descending from the Altai glaciers. It was a vast stockaded camp that was growing into a city.

It was the early summer of 1246. Ottokai had died, and the Friars arrived just in time to be present at the proclamation of his son, Ajuk, as the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire. Carpini told, on his return, of the stately ceremonial festivities, lasting for days, and the display of wealth and military power, that marked the occasion. Ajuk was friendly to his visitors from Europe, expressed his readiness to receive an embassy from the Pope, and gave them gifts for their homeward journey.

Retracing the route by which he had come, Carpini was able to give his report to the Pope at Avignon in the autumn of 1247. He had travelled about 8,000 miles in some two years. He told of the strange lands and peoples he had seen, and the still stranger things he had heard, in his *Historia Mongolorum*, the first of several similar memoirs of Franciscan missionary explorers.

Modern travellers in the same Asiatic lands, and experts who discuss the data they provide, agree in the remarkable accuracy of these Franciscan narratives, where the writers tell of what they

themselves had seen. As for some of the strange things they tell at second hand, unfriendly critics (such as Henry Kingsley in his *Tales of Old Travel*) make easy jests at their "credulity." But it is only fair to remember that in this new world of the unexplored East they saw enough of marvels to make them ready to believe even stranger things. They report what they were told, and one may suspect that sometimes the descriptions and explanations given through an interpreter were distorted in transmission and only half-understood. But such mistakes are trifles compared to the rich store of new knowledge they collected and gave to Europe. The late Sir Henry Yule, an expert of the highest rank in such matters, bears generous testimony to their work, and says of these Franciscan travellers: "They were the first to bring to Western Europe the revived knowledge of a great and civilized nation lying in the extreme East on the shores of the ocean. To this kingdom they gave the name, now first heard in Europe, of Cathay."³

³ *Cathay and the Way Thither*," I. cxxiii. Sir Henry Yule (1820-1889) spent his earlier life in India and the Far East, and on his return to Europe in 1862 was appointed a member of the Indian Council. He devoted the rest of his life to oriental and geographical research, and was recognised as one of the leading experts on all that concerned Central and Eastern Asia. He was President of the Royal Asiatic Society and President and one of the founders of the Hakluyt Society. His four volumes on *Cathay and the Way Thither* dealt with European knowledge of China before the sixteenth century. It contains summaries and translations of the Franciscan narratives, illustrated with a wealth of historical and geographical knowledge. These were published as volumes of Hakluyt Society's series, and were followed up with his richly annotated version of the travels of Marco Polo.

The troubles of Europe long delayed any effort of the Holy See to evangelise the Mongol lands and "Far Cathay." Meanwhile another Franciscan made a remarkable journey to Karakoram. This was William of Rubruc, better known by his Latinised name, "Rubruquius." He went with St. Louis on the last Crusade to Syria. There were rumours of Mongol friendship with the Christians, and even reports that Baatu Khan had become a Catholic. St. Louis formed a plan for obtaining an alliance of the Mongols against the Saracens, and in 1253 sent Friar William of Rubruc to Baatu, with a double purpose, partly to see what could be done for the conversion of the Mongols, but chiefly as a diplomatist to gain their alliance. Baatu, as friendly as he had been to Carpini, told the Friar that he must go to the Great Khan at Karakoram, and the Great Khan was now his brother, Maangu, for Ajuk had lately died. Friar William reached Karakoram in the summer of 1254. Maangu gave him a welcome, and he was his guest for some months. Karakoram was now a rampart-girt city, and at the court our Franciscan met many who could tell him much about Cathay (China), now a flourishing kingdom ruled by Maangu's brother, the famous Kublai Khan. But the alliance project ended in nothing, and the chief result of the journey was that after his return to Europe in 1255 Rubruc was able to write his narrative, adding much to what Carpini told, especially with reference to Cathay.

Carpini and Rubruc had explored the way for missions to the Far East. At last the organised missionary effort began when, in 1277, Nicholas IV

sent the Franciscan, John of Montecorvino, to Cathay. It was a wise decision to push on beyond the lands of the Mongol tribes to the populous kingdom of many cities revealed to Europe by the Franciscan pioneers. By way of Central Asia and Karakoram, Montecorvino reached Cathay, and began his missionary work at the capital, where he met with a friendly reception by Kublai Khan. It was the great city of Cambaluc, to give it the Mongol name it bears in all these early records. Cambaluc is, in more correct native form, Khan-balik—the “Khan’s Capital.” It is the same place we now know by its Chinese name of Pe-king—the “Northern Capital.”

Some of Montecorvino’s letters to Europe are still extant, letters sent by the long caravan journey across Asia. On January 8, 1305, he writes from Cambaluc :

“I have myself grown old and grey, more by toil than years (for I am not more than 58). I have got a competent knowledge of the language and written character now chiefly used, and have translated into that language the New Testament and Psalter, and caused them to be written in the finest penmanship they have.”

An interesting record this, incidentally telling us how this Franciscan was giving the Scriptures to China many centuries before the Bible Society came into existence. Montecorvino was laying the foundation of a great work. In order to build upon it, Clement V decided to found the first Catholic Episcopate in Cathay. In 1307 he conferred Episcopal Orders on seven Franciscans, and sent them eastward to consecrate John of Monte-

corvino first Archbishop of Cambaluc. So many were sent to ensure that some of them would reach their far-off goal. Only three survived the hardships of the journey—Friar Andrea of Perugia, Friar Gerard and Friar Peregrinus. They reached Cambaluc in 1308. Montecorvino was consecrated Archbishop, and thus began the line of Franciscan Archbishops of Cambaluc (Peking) which lasted for nearly a century.

Many conversions were made—some from paganism, others from the remnant of the Nestorians. Travel in China under Kublai's rule was well organised, and a second bishopric was soon founded by sending Friar Gerard far south to be Bishop of Zaitun. It is a place not clearly identified, but certainly in those days the most important port of the province of Fu-kien, in the South-East. Gerard died in 1313 and was succeeded by his old comrade Peregrinus. While he ruled the little Catholic flock at Zaitun there arrived at the port another famous Franciscan traveller, Blessed Odoric of Pardenone. He had come by a new route—across the Black Sea to Trebizond, then by Bagdad and Ormuz, where he took ship for Malabar, and thence in an Indian trading ship to Zaitun. He had with him as his companion on the journey a younger Friar, Jacobus de Hibernia, Friar James of Ireland. He reached Cambaluc in 1318 and spent three years there with Montecorvino. His homeward journey was made by way of Tibet, Cabul, Persia and Asia Minor to Venice, where he arrived in 1330, after having been fourteen years in the East. He, too, wrote the record of his travels. His shrine is near

Udine, on the border of Italy and Jugo-Slavia, not far from his native village.

Montecorvino died in 1333, and was succeeded by Friar Nicholas of Paris, who shortly before had brought to the mission of Cathay a strong reinforcement of twenty-six ordained Friars and six Lay Brothers. Another of his companions, Richard of Burgundy, had been left at Ili in Central Asia, to found a mission station there, on the northern route to Cathay.

After this there are scanty records of the Chinese Mission. In 1362 Friar James of Florence, fifth Bishop of Zaitun, was killed in his episcopal city. It is the first incident in the record of the mission that shows any trace of hostility to the Catholics. It came when China was stirring with the national revolt which six years later resulted in the fall of the Mongol power and the substitution of the native Chinese dynasty of the Ming Emperors. We read of William of Prato, a professor in the University of Paris, being appointed fifth Archbishop of Cambaluc in 1370, but he seems to have been only a titular Archbishop. In the following year Gregory XI, unaware of the changes in Asia, sent Francisco di Podio as his Legate to Cambaluc. The mission had a tragic end. Di Podio, with twelve companions, started for Cathay by the Central Asian route, and simply disappeared in the wilderness of steppe, mountain and desert. No news ever came of his fate. The route, which had been fairly safe during the long years of the Mongol Empire, was now a path of danger, trodden by no European for centuries to come.

The same obscurity conceals from us the last days of the Franciscan mission of Cathay. All traces of it disappeared during the two hundred years that intervened between the fall of the Mongols and the coming of the Jesuit Matteo Ricci, the pioneer of the modern Chinese missions, in 1583.

I have dwelt at some length on this wonderful episode in our mission history, because it is so little known even to most of those who take an interest in the foreign missions. I must deal more briefly with the record of the Franciscan missions, in the two subsequent periods, which bring this survey of their history up to our own time.

II

The second period begins with the "world-seeking" voyage of Columbus in 1492-93 and ends with the early years of the nineteenth century. Columbus was himself a brother of the Third Order of St. Francis, and his project was originally directed towards missionary enterprise as well as commercial and political gains for Spain. Knowing nothing of the vast intervening continent, he hoped to find a new and direct way across to the ocean of the Indies—to the lands of which the Franciscan pioneers and the Venetian Marco Polo had written—"Cathay" and "Xipangu"—China and Japan. Within five years after this epoch-making voyage Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape and found the new ocean way to India and China.

In the early part of this period the traffic on the

new ocean routes, westward and eastward, was almost entirely under the Spanish and Portuguese flags, and every fleet of galleons that sailed from Lisbon and Cadiz had missionaries among its passengers. In almost all the new mission-fields thus made accessible to Europe the Franciscans were the pioneers.

To the new lands of the West the Spaniards came as traders, colonists and conquerors. Their record is much the same as that of all the "colonial expansion" of European nations—efforts to open trade, arrangements for easy possession of colonial ports with protecting garrisons soon led to tension with native chiefs and princes, and then armed expeditions of reprisals or conquest. Throughout we find the Franciscans acting as messengers of peace and often protected the natives against the violence of their conquerors and the reckless pursuit of gain by the colonists. The Franciscans who accompanied Cortes in his conquest of Mexico checked his mistaken zeal, and though they welcomed the suppression of the horrible Aztec rites of human sacrifice, they protested against the forcible throwing down of the native idols. Persuasion, not force, was the way to end idolatry. The Inquisition in the Spanish-American Colonies was given no jurisdiction over the natives, but was often available as a court of appeal to check the infringement of their rights by the colonists and traders. In Florida, in Mexico, and in the great province of Spanish Peru (now parcelled out into several modern Republics) Franciscan mission stations were established—each a centre of light to a wide region. Some of these

old mission centres have survived to our own day,⁴ as the sanctuaries of a Catholic population, often largely of the Indian race, for in the Spanish lands of South America the native races were not swept away, as they were over the greater part of the Northern Continent. This is largely the result of the apostolic labours and the protective influence of the Catholic missionaries, amongst whom the Franciscans were prominent from the very outset. One of them, St. Francis Solano, has been called "the Apostle of Peru."

The Franciscan mission of Florida was an off-shoot of the Mexican missions. In the sixteenth century the Franciscans established themselves in St. Augustin, the oldest town in this outlying

⁴ The close of the "Franciscan Year" was celebrated in many countries while our "Franciscan Week" was being kept in Dublin. One of the most notable of these celebrations was that which was held at the historic silver-mining city of Potosi, in Bolivia, on the slopes of the Andes, some 13,000 feet above the sea. Bolivia was originally part of Spanish Peru, and here in 1547 Father Valverde founded a Franciscan Convent, with twenty-four Fathers and Lay Brothers. The foundation still exists, with a record of nearly four centuries. The Franciscan Week was celebrated in its church, in the presence of the Papal Nuncio, the Primate and Bishops of Bolivia and the President of the Republic. Soon after its foundation one of the earliest printing presses in the New World was set up in the convent, which has now a well-equipped printing office that produces a Catholic newspaper and many other publications. The convent has also a college with a scientific and technical department, presided over by Father Ceru, one of South America's noted experts in electrical science. There is also a primary school, and a workmen's club and co-operative society. From its earliest days the Convent of Potosi was a centre of mission work among the Indians of the Andes and the mining population, and it now maintains six mission stations among the tribes in the outlying and still imperfectly explored districts of Bolivia.

Spanish colony (probably the oldest in what is now United States territory). From this centre they organised mission stations in various parts of the Florida peninsula, and converted many of the Indian tribes. Here, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there came one of the most tragic episodes in Franciscan missionary history. The Creek Indian tribes of the Northern Florida border had clung tenaciously to their ancestral paganism. The English settlers further north, in Carolina and Virginia, were jealous of the Spanish possession of Florida, and hostile to the Catholic missions. The war of the Spanish Succession gave Governor Moore of Carolina the pretext and opportunity for an attack on Florida. There could be no legitimate reason for this raid on a Spanish colony, for England was at war, not against the Spanish nation, but as the ally of one of two rival claimants to the Spanish Crown, opposing the French candidate to the succession and his French supporters. Governor Moore supplied arms to the pagan Creek Indians, and in May, 1702, they raided the border town and Franciscan mission station of Santa Fe, sacked the place and burned the church. In the autumn of the same year a combined force of Colonials from Carolina and pagan Indian tribesmen attacked the mission stations of Northern Florida, burned three of them, carried off the Franciscans as prisoners, pushed on to St. Augustin and burned the town, and the Franciscan church and convent, destroying one of the most valuable libraries then existing in the New World. There was a more terrible raid two years later, in January, 1704, led by Moore,

with fifty Colonials and about a thousand armed Indians. A Spanish officer, Lieut. Mejia, with a handful of Indian warriors, made an attempt to check the invasion, but was defeated and taken prisoner. With four Spanish soldiers, he was handed over to the Creek Indians, and tortured and burned at the stake. Two of the mission Fathers shared his fate; two others were hacked to pieces.⁵ Some 1,400 of the Christian Indians were massacred or carried off to be sold as slaves in Carolina. Ten mission churches were burned. The sacred vessels of their altars were part of the loot taken by the raiders. The orange groves and gardens of the missions were laid waste. It was a disaster that for a while put an end to the mission.

Before closing this all too brief survey of the Franciscan Missions of Spanish America, something must be said of a glorious episode of the later years of this eighteenth century. In 1713 there was born in the island of Minorca the famous missionary known to American history as the "Apostle of California," Father Junípero Serra. In 1749 he resigned his Professorship of Philosophy in a Spanish University to devote the rest of his life to the missions of Mexico. After twenty years of successful mission work, he led a band of missionaries into what is now the State of California, then an almost unexplored land of forest and mountain. During the remaining seventeen years of his life he

⁵ The four Franciscans thus put to death by the raiders were Fathers Juan de Parga, Manuel de Mendoza, Marcos Delgado and Angelo Miranda.

founded the mission stations that have given their names to the cities and towns of California, so that the very map of the State reminds one of a litany of the Saints—San Francisco, San Carlos, San Antonio, San Gabriel, Santa Clara, Santa Barbara and the rest. One of his first foundations was destroyed by the Indians, who killed the missionaries in charge of it. The Spanish Governor of the new colony was preparing a punitive expedition. Serra successfully protested that there should be no bloodshed, no punishment of any kind for the aggressors who had sinned in ignorance. They must be won, he said, by forgiving kindness, not by force. Soon, round every mission station, there grew up a Christian village. At last, in the summer of 1784, he was stricken with illness at the mission of Monterey, near San Francisco. His Indian converts crowded the mission church and knelt around the convent praying that his life might be spared. On the afternoon of August 27th they thought their prayer had been heard, for at the hour of Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament Father Serra made his way to the Sanctuary, haggard and worn, but still able to kneel erect before the altar. As the *Tantum Ergo* was sung the people heard his voice, "clear and strong," leading the singing. It seemed a miracle. Surely he was to be given back to them. But as the service ended he turned to bid them farewell. He went back to his cell, received Viaticum and that night passed to his reward. It is like one of the beautiful chapters of the *Fioretti*. A hundred years later all California, by a decree of its Government, kept August 28, 1884, as the

centenary of the great missionary. His statue, erected not by Catholics, but a non-Catholic donor, stands in the great Park of San Francisco, but the very name of the city is his monument.

America was only one field of the Franciscan Missions. Before turning to their labours in the Far East, let us note that all through this period, besides sending, year after year, labourers to the vineyards beyond the ocean, they maintained their old missions in the Holy Land and the Moslem coast regions of the Mediterranean, and helped to maintain the Faith in the Balkan borderlands. When the storm of the Reformation broke on Europe they supplied devoted opponents to it. A word must be said of a mission that was as perilous and laborious as any in the foreign mission field. When the last Franciscan convent in Ireland had been ruined, the Franciscan colleges of Louvain, Rome and Prague became centres where Irish Friars prepared to return to their own land, minister to the persecuted people, and in many instances, after years of danger and hardship, to crown their life-work with the glory of martyrdom. Some of these Irish Friars also ministered to the Gaelic-speaking Catholics of the Scottish Highlands and the Hebrides.

The Franciscan Missions of the Far East, in this period, began with those based on the Portuguese possessions in India. At the same time a mission station was established at Mozambique on the east coast of Africa, which was an important place, as the fleets for the East called there on the way to Goa. On the other side of Africa, missions were organised in the Congo region. Spanish Fran-

ciscans were among the pioneers of the missions in the Far Eastern islands, especially in the Philippines, where gradually all but the hill tribes of the wilder forest and mountain districts were converted by the joint labours of the Catholic missionary orders. The memory of the earlier missions of the Middle Ages gave special hopes for a new period of the Catholic apostolate in China, but all access to the Chinese Empire was long barred to Europeans beyond the limits of a single trading post. The Portuguese merchant ships had entered the Canton river as early as 1516, but no one was allowed to go beyond its quays or reside in the city. St. Francis Xavier died at San-chan in sight of the promised land he was not to enter. Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans, attempting to reach China by Canton, were forbidden to land or almost at once expelled. At last, in 1582, Matteo Ricci broke the barrier, and for some years to come the pioneer work of the new Chinese Missions was done by him and his Jesuit brethren. It was not till 1643 that the Spanish Franciscans were given a field of labour in China.

Meanwhile they had shared in the work of the new mission of Japan, and had given their martyrs to the heroic band of victims in the great persecution that in those early years of the seventeenth century seemed to have trampled out in blood the Christianity of the Island Empire.

The district assigned to the Franciscans in China by Urban VIII in 1643 was the south-east, the coast province of Fu-kien (where in the Middle Ages Franciscans had been Bishops of Zaitun), and a

little later Nanking and the north-east province of Shantung. In 1684 Shantung was transferred to the Italian Franciscans with a large district in the neighbouring province of Chi-li (in which Pekin is situated). The first band of fifteen missionaries from Italy was headed by Father Bernardino della Chiesa, Titular Bishop of Argos, a son of the same noble Genoese family that in our own time gave a Pope to the Church in the person of Benedict XV. Six years later, in 1696, Innocent XII appointed Della Chiesa Archbishop of Pekin, the same city of Cambaluc that nearly four centuries before had been the See of John of Montecorvino. The jurisdiction of the new Archbishopric extended over Shantung and Chi-li, but the Franciscan Missions were pushed gradually westward into Shan-si and Shen-si, provinces that in our own time are part of the Franciscan mission-field in China.

Until the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Chinese missions were making good progress, and the outlook gave promise of a still more successful future. But in 1723 organised persecution began, and for the rest of the century the record is one of many vicissitudes. In its closing years and in the early days of the nineteenth century, the missions of China shared the general misfortunes of our Catholic missions throughout the world. The war against religion organised by the enemies of the Church in Europe, the closing of colleges, seminaries and novitiates, the calamities resulting from the great Revolution and more than twenty years of wars that followed, the seizure of Rome, the suppression of the

Propaganda and other centres of missionary effort, almost cut off the supply of missionaries of all the religious orders. It was one of the darkest periods in the Church's history, a time of world-wide disorganisation and losses in the mission-field.

This time of trial was the prelude to the Catholic revival that began early in the nineteenth century. Its beginnings were hardly marked by the men of the time. Outside the Church there were prophets of evil ready to predict that Catholicity would not be able for ages to come—if ever—to repair the losses it had suffered. But many were impressed by the fact that, though two Popes in succession had been driven from Rome, Pius VII had returned in triumph.⁶ But he had come back to face the gigantic task of repairing a world-wide ruin.

III

The third period of our survey of the Franciscan

⁶ The German historian, Leopold von Ranke, when he published the first volume of his *History of the Popes of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in 1834, wrote, in his preface, that it was interesting to see what the Papacy had been in those past times of its power and influence, and to mark the contrast with its existing period of decay. Macaulay, reviewing the English version of the book, in his famous essay on the Popes, had the insight to read the true lesson of history and the courage to predict that, having survived so many calamities, it would endure to the end of time. Years before this, another great non-Catholic writer, Schiller, before he had won his fame as a poet and while still devoting himself to historical studies, had written of the Papacy: "Though no throne in the world has so often changed its occupants, and has been held and vacated in the midst of such storms, yet it is nevertheless the only throne in the Christian world that would seem never to have changed its occupant, for it was only the Popes that died, but the spirit that animated them was immortal."

Missions belongs to this time of reorganisation and reconstruction, followed by a rapid development of Catholic activities, with results that I do not hesitate to describe as unexampled in the whole history of the Church since the Apostolic Age. We must consider the Franciscan Missions in this latest period as a part of the general development of the Catholic foreign missions. For a characteristic of this time is the organised world-wide unity of the Church's mission work. The very progress of modern invention and the improvement of world communications has facilitated this. At first, little help could be sent from Europe to the foreign missions. The reorganisation had to begin by restoring the home centres of supply—novitiates, colleges, seminaries. Not only was this work pushed on vigorously and successfully, but soon there came the foundation of new training centres and new missionary congregations. The foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith provided ever-increasing resources. In Rome the Congregation of the Propaganda was fully re-constituted and its college re-opened. Successive Popes built up a correspondence with the mission lands, surveyed their condition and their needs, and developed and re-grouped the system of Vicariates originally constituted by Gregory XIII. The Pontificate of Gregory XVI (the immediate predecessor of Pius IX) is notable for the creation of many new Vicariates, and the subdivision of some of those of older date. This process of dividing up the mission Vicariates has gone on ever since, each Vicariate being assigned to a Religious Order or Congregation, which supplies its workers,

and presided over by a missionary Bishop. In India and Japan new hierarchies have been erected, and the beginning of native hierarchies has been made in India, China and Japan.

The modern Chinese Missions of the Franciscans are directly linked with those of the preceding period. At the close of the eighteenth century and during the first years of the nineteenth, few of the Franciscan missionaries survived in China. Their work was carried on under the stress of persecution. They co-operated with the Vincentian Fathers in the North, and a few native priests. In the general disorganisation of the time, they nowhere formed a self-governed body. They were often under a Vincentian Superior, sometimes under a Chinese priest. They held on bravely hoping for better days.

It was thanks to their devoted perseverance, and to the past record of the Order, that when the mission reorganisation became effective, there were assigned to the Franciscans several provinces that had been the scene of their earlier labours—Hu-nan and Hu-peh, south and north of the central course of the immense Yang-tse River in the heart of China; Ho-nan, stretching from the border of Hu-peh to the Yellow River, the great river of North China; Shantung, the coast province by which its waters reach the sea; Shan-si and Shensi, east and west of its upper course. It was a region, in all of more than 400,000 square miles. One might cut fourteen countries as large as Ireland out of it. Some portions of these provinces have in later years been assigned to other

Orders and Congregations.⁷ As the Chinese Missions developed, province after province has been subdivided into new Vicariates. The Franciscans have now in these provinces ten Apostolic Vicariates or Missionary Bishoprics, with more than 300,000 Chinese Catholics.

And here I must insist on some points of importance in estimating the success of our missions. They are not peculiar to those of the Franciscans only, but are characteristic of all our Catholic foreign missions under the modern system of working them. In the records of the earlier periods we find that the missionaries often baptised large numbers of converts after a very brief instruction, relying on their further training and formation being completed later. In the modern period there has been everywhere in the missions a revival of the system of the Church of the first centuries. Converts are kept for a year or more under instruction, gradually learning the practices of Catholic life, and only after this test and training are they baptised. Accordingly, in the mission reports only the baptised are counted as Catholics, but besides these there are in every mission numbers of converts under instruction—the “catechumens.” In the ten mission districts of China under the Franciscans there were in 1923 306,087 baptised Catholics, but the catechumens numbered 174,529. This makes the total of con-

⁷ The important district of the Han Valley region in Hu-peh has been thus transferred to the new Irish Missionary Congregation of St. Columban. Its priests and nuns are building upon the foundations provided by the earlier labours of the Franciscan Mission.

verts, baptised and preparing for baptism, 480,616—or well on towards half a million.

Besides this solid preparation of the converts, another important feature of the missions is their continually developing organisation for the preservation as well as the propagation of the Faith. There are schools of every class, from the elementary upwards; seminaries for the formation of a native clergy; classes for the training of native catechists and school teachers; centres for the preparation of popular Catholic books of devotion and instruction; orphanages; refuges for the aged; dispensaries for the sick. There is the invaluable help of communities of missionary nuns—a feature unknown to the older missions of the past. A new Order, the “Franciscan Missionaries of Mary,” is not only supplying nuns to the Franciscan Missions, but to many others in China and other countries.

It was, thanks to the careful formation of the converts and the vigour of Catholic life among the baptised, that when, at the beginning of the present century, Northern China was swept by the storm of the Boxer revolt, some ten thousand Chinese Catholics sealed their faith with their blood. Many of their teachers, amongst these several of the Franciscan missionaries, and some of the nuns, also won the crown of martyrdom. From that great sacrifice dates the immense increase of the Catholic flock in China in the present century.

I have dwelt on the Chinese Missions on account of their special importance and the interest given to them by current events in the Far East. I can only briefly refer to the missions of other lands.

There are two Franciscan Missions in Japan, dating from 1915 and 1921. They are in the period of small beginnings. In 1923 the Catholics numbered not quite 6,000, the catechumens under instruction about 200. It is interesting to hear that at one of these mission centres the Franciscan Year was made the occasion of entering into friendly relations with, and attracting the interest of, the leading men of the city. A hundred of them were invited to spend the greater part of the day in the Franciscan Convent of Sapporo as the guests of the Fathers. A statue of St. Francis was placed in a flower-decked hall, and there was a programme of music and short lectures on the story of his life. There was a mid-day dinner and a second meeting, opportunity for conversation, and at the close there were requests from many that they might come again for such another social gathering.

The Friars Minor have no missions in India, but the Capuchins are missionaries of several dioceses in the north and north-west. The mention of them recalls the memory of their great missionary of the last century, Cardinal Massaia, in Abyssinia and the Red Sea region. The historic "Custodia" of the Holy Land, the guardianship of its Holy Places, remains in Franciscan hands, with missions in Egypt and the Near East. There are missions also in North Africa, the Congo State and Mozambique, and among the Indians of America, especially in its Southern Continent. Much of South America is still hardly explored, and in its forest lands there is a large Indian population still pagan. Several of the South American Governments set aside annual grants for the help

of these missions. They recognise that the presence of the missionaries on the borderlands of the civilised and settled regions is a public gain. In the years before the Great War we heard with horror the reports of cruelties exercised on the Indians by white adventurers in one of those unexplored borderlands of Brazil. Roger Casement, then still in the British Consular Service, was sent to report upon the actions of these red-handed rubber hunters. He was not then a Catholic, and this makes it all the more notable that in his official report he proposed, not that soldiers or police should be sent to the Putumayo forests to prevent the repetition of these outrages, but that Franciscans should be sent to live among the Indians as their helpers, teachers and protectors.

I wish I could say more of these modern missions of our own day. But to deal at all adequately with them would need not one, but many lectures. I think, however, I have in this brief outline said enough to show how marvellous the recent progress of our missions has been. Their future is full of the brightest hopes. The one peril is that of some new world-war laying waste the fields that are white for the harvest. We may well pray for "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ," if that harvest is to be reaped. Above all, there are bright prospects for the missions of the Far East. In China, the greatest of these mission-fields, war and revolution have not disorganised our missions. In a few localities there has been temporary loss, but it is a tremendous gain that whilst, under the alarm created by the recent troubles in China,

nearly all the non-Catholic missionaries were withdrawn, the Catholic missionaries remained at their posts and among their people. Some few instances there were of lives being sacrificed through the hatred of the Faith which has characterised, not the Chinese national movement as a whole, but one section of it, or again through the acts of brigands—brigandage being a by-product of Chinese civil wars. A few mission stations have been sacked; but the total losses are small. Over nearly all China our missionaries have been able to carry on their work, relying not only on the fidelity of their own people, but also on the friendship of numbers of their pagan neighbours. They have identified themselves with the people, lived their life, won their good-will, and it is rarely that any outcry against "the foreigner" has affected their position. Not only have they stayed through all the trouble, but each year new bands of priests, lay brothers and nuns have gone out from Europe and America to reinforce them. They have passed a great test triumphantly, and the Chinese people will not soon forget the fact.

In far-off centuries Ireland was the land from which missionaries went forth to win Europe from paganism after the break-up of the Roman Empire. I hope that in the new Ireland of to-day our people will not only learn more of this glorious past, but also take a deeper interest in the missions of to-day. All over the world there is a new growth of zeal for the foreign missions, a welcome token of vigorous Catholic life. As a most important part of this movement, as one of the best incentives to this missionary zeal, we may count

the study of the missionary records of the past, the missionary intelligence of the present. I feel sure the more we know of both, the more we will realise that great and wonderful as was the work of the missionaries of other days, the mission record of our own time can more than stand comparison with that of the earlier days.⁸ We may well thank God that we live in such a time.

⁸ After giving this lecture in Dublin I published in the *Catholic Times* of November 4th, 1927, a short statistical study of the Chinese Missions, past and present. The highest total claimed for the Catholics in China in the period subsequent to 1582, and before the disorganisation of the missions at the end of the eighteenth century, was 300,000, in the year 1700. It was estimated that by 1800 this total had been reduced to about 100,000. The figures for the missions in the nineteenth century show a considerable growth. In 1850 the estimated total was 330,000. In another fifty years, on the eve of the Boxer rising and the accompanying persecution, the total for 1900 was 741,000. Then came the rapid increase shown by the following figures:—

1900	741,000	1915	1,751,000
1905	880,000	1920	1,994,000
1910	1,292,000	1925	2,337,882
	1926	2,394,962	

These are the totals of baptised Catholics. If the catechumens were included the final totals would be near or over three millions,

THE PICTORIAL TREATMENT OF THE LIFE OF SAINT FRANCIS

THE full life of St. Francis has yet to be written. This, no doubt, will seem to many people a daring, if not an absurd, assertion, remembering that his life has been written by a member of his own Order, who was both a great Saint and a great scholar and who gathered his information from those who lived with and worked with and loved the poor little man of Assisi. Even if we had not the *Legenda Major* by St. Bonaventure, that marvellously inspiring book, nor the *Legenda Minor*, we have, they will say, the two scarcely less admirable and even more superficially attractive accounts, the *Legenda Prima* and the *Legenda Secunda*, by Brother Thomas of Celano. Failing St. Bonaventure and Thomas of Celano, we could fall back on the *Speculum Perfectionis*, on the *Liber di Laudibus* and on the *Fiogetti* which scholars have come at last to agree is of high historical value. There is a mass of scarcely less important authentic matter in existence, and hardly a year goes by without the discovery of some notable accretion. Thus, M. Paul Sabatier's *Vie de Saint François d'Assise* has, in the thirty years which have passed since its publication, lost much of its authority, though its reputation as literature has remained undimmed: and Father Cuthbert, in the preface to his fine *Life of St. Francis*, expressly disclaims any ideal of finality for his work, modestly encouraging his readers to hope for results from research that will

quickly render it out of date. The cataloguing of the Vatican Library is almost certain to yield new documents on St. Francis of primary importance. For instance, the great librarian of the Vatican, Cardinal Ehrle, S.J., many years ago discovered a manuscript catalogue which belonged, in 1375, to the Papal Library in Avignon, and which described a letter from "Brother Bonaventure"—that is the Saint, almost certainly—on the Indulgence of the Porziuncula, a letter which should clear up, once and for all, the controversy that still attaches to the question. It is quite likely that this very letter will soon come to light. But even if such hopes are doomed to disappointment, we can still agree with M. Sabatier in holding that "there are few lives in history so well documented as that of St. Francis."

Doubtless, everyone here present to-night knows much more about that life than I do: and I have, therefore, no intention of dwelling upon it in any detail. My concern, for the moment, is to remind you that, if the documentary account of St. Francis is singularly copious, the pictorial representation of the Saint is scarcely less remarkable and deserves a study which it does not seem ever to have received. Writers of the Saint's life have paid little or no attention to this important branch of hagiology. Father Cuthbert, for example, uses as frontispiece to his book an alleged portrait of Saint Francis by Margaritone of Arezzo. It is uninteresting, and no competent student of painting could unreservedly admit that it was by that master. I will show you instead a slide from a picture of St Francis, now in Arezzo, signed by Margaritone,

and of unquestionable authenticity. M. L'Abbé Fagot does even worse than Father Cuthbert. When he issued recently his most delightful translation of St. Bonaventure's life he defaced it with execrable woodcuts, though he could, at less expense, have illustrated it with reproductions of representations of the same incidents by the most famous painters. This is the more extraordinary as he seems more aware than most authorities of the importance of the iconography of St. Francis. For he says: "Des peintres de génie se sont efforcés au cours des siècles, de fixer en leurs fresques ou leurs toiles la merveilleuse figure de Saint François, telle qu'elle leur apparaissait. Mais quelle que soit la beauté des œuvres de Giotto, de Fra Angelico, de Benozzo Gozzoli, de Raphael, ou de Murillo, c'est toujours à la fresque du Sagro Speco de Subiaco qu'il faut revenir si l'on veut tenter de pénétrer jusqu'à son âme en contemplant ses traits."

I will show you also a slide from that fresco of Subiaco which is of absorbing interest. For it was painted, in all human probability, by one who actually saw him on his visit there in 1212. You will notice that it is the only early picture of the Saint which is inscribed "Frater Franciscus." The usual inscription is "Sanctus Franciscus." You will notice, too, that St. Francis is not depicted as bearing the marks of the Stigmata. These are well-nigh convincing proofs that it is an authentic portrait from life. It is a crude and tentative work, done before the advent of the Pisanos, Cavallini, Duccio, Cimabue, or Giotto, in the earliest dawn of the renaissance of European

pictorial art. But it gives us a vivid image of the Saint which must have been subject to the criticism of many of those who knew him in the flesh and honoured by them as a true likeness.

St. Bonaventure never saw St. Francis, though their lives overlapped. Brother Thomas of Celano knew him and briefly describes his personal appearance. The only other verbal description we have from an eye-witness is in the few words of the letter from Thomas of Spalatro, written after hearing him preach at Bologna on August 15th in the year 1222. The picture by the unknown painter in the *Sagro Speco* has, therefore, a unique and vital interest, and is far too little known.

Beginning with this picture, we have an astounding succession of works depicting the life of St. Francis, a succession which continued almost into our own time. It is easy to understand why this is so.

Thomas à Kempis warns us not to inquire nor dispute as to the relative merits of the saints. Yet we can all understand, without attempting to measure the magnitude of his sanctity, the universality of the peculiar appeal which this character of St. Francis makes. It is not only Catholics who are attracted by the gallantry and the gaiety of the man. He charms the whole world by his poetry almost as much as by his piety. The Canticle of Sir Brother Sun would have made him famous no matter what his faith. He is the last and greatest of the Troubadours, the fine flower of all that promised most in the Middle Ages. He recaptured for Christianity the joy in Nature, the love for the sun and the moon, the trees, the clouds, the flowers

and the birds that paganism so nearly succeeded in appropriating. Never since the three children sang together in the fiery furnace had anyone so nobly glorified God in His creations.

Consider, too, his marvellous adventures: his journeyings all over Italy and into Spain, his fearless incursion into the camp of the Soldan, his vigils, his sermons, his friendships, the loving companions he gathered about him, the joyous life of his youth, his stirring death, the miracles he wrought, the awful and mysterious miracle wrought upon himself. No one has ever presented such a choice of subjects to artists seeking to immortalise him.

We know but little about many of the greatest saints. Those who, like myself, honour St. Thomas the Apostle as their patron regret deeply that we only know of him by the two stories told in the Gospel. One is not exactly to his credit. Yet it is, of necessity, the one which painters must choose when they desire to depict him: and so we always see St. Thomas in pictures declaring his disbelief in the Resurrection, or being humiliated by Our Lord for that disbelief. Pictorial art can scarcely represent him heartening the other Apostles, as they trembled with premonitions of the approaching Passion, by his brave cry: "Let us all go down and die with Him together." I hope I will be forgiven for feeling that I, for one, could spare a little of our knowledge even of St. Francis for a few more facts about St. Thomas.

Such considerations explain, partially, the plethora of pictures which the story of St. Francis has produced. Mrs. Jameson, in her "Sacred

and Legendary Art"—that splendid work still unapproached after eighty years of existence, though now in sad need of revision—declares that the numbers of his effigy which exist are "incalculable." "They are only to be rivalled in profusion and variety by those of the Madonna herself." She mentions or illustrates all those pictures by artists of real importance which were in her time generally known to scholars at large. The results of modern criticism and research would enable any competent student of pictorial art to double her list on a brief reflection. In fact, a list which I myself prepared in great haste for the purpose of this lecture contained the titles of over two hundred pictures of or about St. Francis, pictures which are not only of deep religious interest, but are also of prime importance in the history of art. I hasten to assure you that I shall not attempt to show you slides of more than a fifth of these this evening.

Almost every great master of every school of painting has, at some time or other, honoured St. Francis through his art. Some have done so over and over again. El Greco certainly painted at least twenty pictures of the Saint. The best of these—I fear some of you may not know this—is your own property. It hangs in the National Gallery of Ireland. There are many who would agree with me in thinking that it is probably the most moving representation of the Saint which exists in the world to-day.

Not alone in single pictures, but in many series of inter-related works, is Saint Francis commemorated. Four such pictorial lives call for

special mention. These are: the twenty-eight frescoes done by Giotto as a youth in the upper Church at Assisi; the series in the Bardi Chapel of Santa Croce in Florence, done by the same painter twenty, or perhaps even thirty years later; the tempera series by Stefano di Giovanni, better known as Sassetta of Siena, originally in the Franciscan Church of Borgo San Sepolcro and now divided between the Chantilly collection and the collections of the Count de Martel, Mr. Clarence H. Mackay and Mr. Bernhard Berenson; and the frescoes by Domenico Ghirlandajo in the Sassetti Chapel in the Church of Santa Trinita in Florence. I shall show you several examples from these series, particularly some of the pictures by Sassetta, which are, to my mind, the most thoroughly Franciscan in spirit of them all. Sassetta, too, distinguishes himself by the charm of the incidents which he selects for illustration from the life of the Saint. We feel that his series was peculiarly a work of personal devotion.

Too often painters of St. Francis worked to the order of patrons who, perhaps naturally, selected for representation the crowning instant of the Saint's career, the awful moment of his Stigmatisation, forgetting that of its nature this was not an incident which lent itself to adequate pictorial treatment. In considering many pictures of the Stigmatisation a strange difficulty arises. The evidence of the miracle as mere historic fact is beyond all doubt or question. But the two main accounts of the event differ in detail. Brother Thomas of Celano would seem to refrain carefully from identifying the seraphic spirit with Our Lord.

St. Bonaventure does not positively do so; but he says that Our Lord appeared to St. Francis *sub specie* the Seraph. Father Cuthbert alludes to this discrepancy, and refers to the pictorial representations of the scene, saying in a footnote: "It is curious to note the difference in treatment of the story of the Stigmata between the earliest paintings and those of Giotto and his successors. In the former the Saint is alone, standing up amid trees and flowers indicative of a wood; in the latter the Saint is generally depicted kneeling, with Brother Leo near at hand, and upon rocky ground. It is, however, to be noted that the marks of the Stigmata, as Celano expressly says, appeared after the vision, when Francis had risen up and whilst he was pondering on what he had seen. Another difference is that in the earliest paintings the Seraph has the conventional face of a Seraph, whereas in the later paintings, it is the face of Our Lord. It is the difference between Celano and St. Bonaventure."

I have cited this passage at length because, with the utmost deference to the great scholarship of Father Cuthbert, I think his argument here is almost wholly erroneous and not based upon fact. St. Bonaventure nowhere suggests that Brother Leo was present at the Stigmatisation. He strongly implies that he was not. Again, what and where are the pre-Giotto paintings of the miracle? I know of none. Certainly there is none extant by Cavallini, by Cimabue, by Duccio, or by Margaritone. Giotto, it is true, identifies the Seraph with Our Lord. So do many subsequent painters. But there are, at least, two pictorial

representations of the miracle, done about a hundred years after Giotto, in which the intention to depict a Seraph rather than Our Lord is unmistakable. One of these is in the late fifteenth century Franco-Flemish Missal of the Franciscans of Mons. Here the Seraph is a beardless youth. The other, less obvious, is in the Sforza Book of Hours, done at a similar date by some unknown artist of Milan. Here the Seraph's head is hidden from the spectator by the particular attribute of his order, the crimson wings. Many of the latest representations of the miracle, particularly those of the Spanish School, also contradict Father Cuthbert's statements on this matter. El Greco almost invariably represents the Saint as standing alone, and the Seraph as a blazing, winged, crucified figure without the features of Our Lord. This would seem to be the proper mode of treatment. St. Francis himself did not, apparently, recognise Our Lord in the Seraph; for we are told that he could not understand how a heavenly spirit could suffer pain.

Here I am touching on the province of the theologian and the mystic. Yet I believe there is no agreement on the precise significance of the miracle and, that being so, I think a painter is entitled to assume that the Seraphic figure was not that of Our Lord, but rather of His messenger, one of the mighty hierarchy of angels whose prime function is adoration, sent to confer on St. Francis, in recognition of his loving adoration, the marks of a Passion which he was never called on to suffer before men, but in which, by his sympathising anguish, his soul and body were permitted to take

part. Anyhow, this interpretation enables the painter to avoid the impossible effort to depict the Creator revealing Himself to His creature: and it is the one which the most spiritual of all pictorial artists would seem to have preferred.

The pictures of the Stigmatisation are, naturally, the most numerous among those that comprise the iconography of St. Francis: for the miracle was the crowning glory of the Saint's career, and gave his Order their most precious title.

The subject which holds next place in pictures of St. Francis is not of a miracle at all. It is the record of one of his rare failures, his mission to the Sultan Melek-el Kamel. But the popularity of the subject is quite understandable. Never did St. Francis show a finer courage or a greater faith than when, with one poor friar in attendance, he broke in upon the camp of the powerful warrior king who had set a price upon the head of all Christians, faced his pagan priests in controversy, and offered gaily to give proof of his creed by submission to the dread ordeal of fire. I conjecture that it was some of the numerous pictures of this scene, possibly those in Santa Trinita and Santa Croce at Florence, which inspired Fra Girolamo Savanarola, the Dominican, to court for himself a similar ordeal three centuries later.

Many other incidents from the life of St. Francis have achieved popularity. But some which would seem eminently suitable for pictorial representation have seldom or never been so employed. The superb relief in coloured pottery by Andrea della Robbia, a lunette which adorns the loggia of San Paolo in the Piazza of Santa Maria Novella at

Florence and portrays the legendary meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominic, should have inspired painters to emulation. There is not, to my knowledge, a single picture of such a scene.

It is surprising, too, that there are so few pictures which commemorate the holy and romantic association of St. Francis and St. Clare. These few are trivial. The best known of them are probably Giotto's fresco in Assisi of St. Clare mourning over his body; the picture of the same subject by François Léon Benouville in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, and a small Spanish picture in the Louvre, of St. Francis standing between St. Clare and St. Elizabeth of Hungary. There is also record of a picture by Zurbaran of the midnight profession of St. Clare, formerly in the Aguado collection, which, to my great regret, I have not yet succeeded in tracing, for this would be a subject eminently suited to Zurbaran's lofty genius.

Were I myself to commission a picture of some scene from the life of St. Francis, I would undoubtedly break new ground and select the story—one told both by Brother Thomas of Celano and by St. Bonaventure—of his temptation in the cell at Sarteano. It was a characteristically Franciscan temptation, not, as Mr. Chesterton has well said, to commit a sin, but to commit, rather, a sacrament. Lying prone in cold, hunger and pain, he thought how happy he might have been as a husband and a father in a cheerful home. The thought tormented him with longing. So he rushed out into the snow and built up seven snow figures. Then he apostrophised and taunted himself, exclaiming: "That large one is the wife. Those four are the children.

Those two are the servants. Make haste to clothe them, for they are dying of cold": and he continued bravely to mock himself until at last he could say: "If care of them thus troubles thee, betake thyself to serve God only."

It is really only people like myself whose household consists exactly of one wife, four children and two servants, who can appreciate fully the Saint's considerations on this question, who can realise how the joys of such companionship are mitigated by its dreadful power to restrict at times all useful activity! It would be hard to select a painter fit to do justice to such a subject. Pieter Brueghel, the Elder, could have done great things with it, and his treatment of the incident would, I feel sure, have given pleasure to St. Francis himself. Unfortunately, he ignored its possibilities. I know of no modern painter to whom I would entrust the task, for the moderns have, as a rule, a most unhealthy contempt for illustration and, indeed, for representation in pictorial art.

This contempt is the principal cause of the present decay in religious painting. Artists of our time have developed theories which have rendered what they call "the story picture" highly unpopular. They have chosen to forget, or to deny, that most great pictures of the past combined in judicious proportions the elements of decoration, representation and illustration. Some of the noblest paintings in the world were produced in obedience to the injunction of the Pope St. Gregory, crying to Christendom: "Let the Churches be filled with paintings." The painters of Siena in her golden age frankly described them-

selves in the Constitutions of their Guild as "teachers to unlearned men, who know not how to read, of the marvels done by the power and strength of holy religion." Where would you find a painter nowadays willing to admit such a definition of his functions?

Modern criticism has rushed to the other extreme. Messieurs Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzanger proclaim, in their book on Cubism, that "the only possible error in art is imitation." Mr. Clive Bell does not hesitate to assert that "the representative element in a work of art may or may not be harmful, always it is irrelevant." Such critics are right in stressing the fact that a picture should appeal primarily by the subtle arrangement of lines, masses, lights and colours. But they are wrong in assuming that æsthetic emotion tends to be exclusive. They would argue that because Cezanne made entrancing pictorial harmonies in which the representation of natural forms is barely perceptible, pictorial harmonies of equal loveliness are not attainable by artists who are at least as sensitive to mere visual beauty as was that half-crazed and most ill-educated man, and who have, in addition, the desire and the power to convey emotional and intellectual beauties to which he was wholly blind. A picture by Cezanne suggesting, but scarcely representing, a plate of green apples on a white napkin may, from an æsthetic standpoint, be fairly considered a masterpiece, to be instantly appreciated as such by all whose eyes are trained to recognise pictorial genius. But El Greco will paint you a picture of St. Francis in which the inter-relation of forms and colours will be at least as skilful and as moving as anything of the

sort in Cezanne's masterpiece. El Greco will not stop there ! In his picture there will be piety and poetry and psychology as well as painting. In his picture he will show much of his subject's saintly personality reflected through his own marvellously alive, sensitive and experienced mind.

Before we get a revival of true religious painting we must get rid of the widespread notion that pictorial art should be careful, for its own sake, to avoid all contact with religion. Pictorial art does not, I fully admit, spring of necessity from a moral impulse : but a religious purpose is just as likely to give it help as to do it harm. It is sad to reflect that the seventh centenary of St. Francis is passing without adding a single noteworthy pictorial tribute to his glory.

With one exception, all the pictures of St. Francis which I propose to show you date from, at latest, the seventeenth century. I have had much difficulty in deciding on the order of their presentation. Were this a lecture on art I should have ranged them in strict chronological order. But my purpose on this occasion is to honour St. Francis rather than to serve the cause of art. So I have grouped my slides according to subject, in parallel sequence, as far as possible, with the Saint's career.

[Mr. Bodkin then showed about forty slides from pictures illustrating the life of St. Francis, and accompanied them with a running comment. These included works by the unknown painter of the *Sagro Speco* at Subiaco, by Margaritone of Arrezzo, Giunta Pisano, Giotto, Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta), Dominico Chireandaio, Francisco Pesselino, Fillipino Lippi, Paolo Veronese, Agostino Carracci, Ludivico Ciardi (Cigoli), Ribera, Spagnoletto, Murillo, Zurbaran, Luis Tristan, El Greco, Laurent La Hyre, Luc Olivier Merson, François Léon Benouville, Van Dyck, Frans Pourbus, and many others.]

ST. FRANCIS IN ITALIAN LITERATURE

HISTORY is full of beginnings; but there is none so definite as the change which takes place at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. We call what went before the Dark Ages; we call the new period the Middle Ages proper, or the Mediæval Renaissance. The transition is like that from winter to spring; it is the transition from a period in which destruction and decay predominated, though good seeds were in the ground, to the period in which these seeds were growing and beginning to bear fruit, and destruction and decay were forgotten.

St. Francis was the greatest leader of this movement, and its best symbol. He described himself, in one of his sudden flashing replies, which answer more than was asked, as a herald: *I am the Herald of the Great King!* And it is as a herald that the historical imagination sees him—a herald and a leader.

St. Francis led the world from distrust and fear and hate to confidence and hope and love.

To be a leader, that men might follow him, he had first to be a liberator, he had to set them free—from themselves. The revival of the Middle Ages was essentially religious. St. Francis made men more Christian than they were by showing them the life of Christ and repeating to them the Gospel. His mission was to upset the world's false values and replace them by true values. He

showed that the essential was the human soul in contact with God. St. Francis made this contact clearer and stronger than it had been. It changed the whole of life. Men were not enemies any longer, nor was the world merely a snare, for all were God's creatures. Humanity and Nature became infinitely loveable and infinitely worth knowing, when they were taken as so many words of God.

This new love and understanding of Man and Nature is the whole inspiration of the new arts and sciences. Nor do these lack signs of their descent. When we derive the arts from religion it is no unnatural derivation of something worldly from something unworldly. Franciscan Poverty meant giving up everything to gain everything—not in this world, but in this world, too. The renunciation of St. Francis and his companions must have given them even on earth a happiness we can only guess at. With Dante and Giotto we feel that Poverty liberates them also; that they are slaves to no little selfish corner, and that that is why their perceptions and sympathies are so free to range through the Universe.

To estimate St. Francis' influence on the arts, it is clear that we must consider two things: first, how by its nature the movement inspired the arts; second, how the inspiration is seen in, and conditions, the actual monuments of the arts. Here it seems better not to attempt these tasks separately. If we proceed at once to the monuments of art which are of Franciscan inspiration, we shall not fail to appreciate in them the nature of the inspiring movement. Let us consider three

specimens: St. Francis' own poem, the *Canticle of the Sun*; one of the *Fioretti*, and the eleventh canto of Dante's *Paradiso*.

I

St. Francis' place in Italian literature is secure, not merely because of his general influence, but by an actual masterpiece; the *Canticle of the Sun*.

St. Francis was a poet. His genius was not of the slow, reflective, logical type; it was quick, imaginative, dramatic. He had the poetical temperament. And he had literary taste and culture—not Italian, there was as yet no such thing, but French—Provençal and French proper. As a young man he was an enthusiast for the songs of his mother's country, and even after his conversion he often had a French song on his lips.

But his mission was not the literary life. As a preacher, he spoke from immediate inspiration, without preparation. The treasures of his eloquence were so inexhaustible there was no need to preserve them in writing. He may often have thrown his devotions into verse form, but all but one of the extant pieces attributed to him are very doubtful. The exception is the *Canticle of the Sun*, which he composed at the end of his life, when he could no longer express himself in action.

In the year before his death, St. Francis was living in a little cell infested with mice in the garden of St. Clare's convent, S. Damiano. He was sick of many diseases, in great pain, almost blind. One morning, after a night of unusual tortures, he sent for the Brothers and for St.

Clare and her Sisters, and sat up on his miserable bed, and began to talk gently to them about pain, its necessity, its divine fruit. Suddenly he lost his melancholy and became joyful. The sun rose. He got up and walked about among the trees and flowers, meditating; then came back and began to sing the Canticle.

O my good Lord, most high, omnipotent. All praises are thine, glory and honour and every blessing. To thee alone, most highest, they belong. And no man is worthy to speak of thee.

Praised be thou, my Lord, and all thy creatures. Especially Sir Brother Sun. Who makes the day and gives us light. And he is fair and shines most splendid. He is an emblem of thee, Most High.

Praised be thou, my Lord, for Sister Moon and the Stars. In the sky thou hast set them clear and precious and lovely.

Praised be thou, my Lord, for Brother Wind. And for Air and Cloud and Calms and Weathers all. By which thou givest thy creatures sustenance.

Praised be thou, my Lord, for Sister Water. Who is most useful and humble, precious and chaste.

Praised be thou, my Lord, for Brother Fire. Through whom thou lightest us the night. And he is fair and merry, masterful and strong.

Praised be thou, my Lord, for Sister Earth our Mother. Who sustains and governs us. And brings forth divers fruits and coloured flowers and grass.

Praise ye and bless my Lord. And thank and serve him with great humility.

Probably he improvised; and some hearer wrote it down. It is said that he thought of sending for Brother Pacifico, a great poet when in the world, to put it in regular form, and take it to the towns

and villages with a band of friars, and sing it like minstrels, popular entertainers, calling themselves God's Minstrels (*giullari di Dio*), and begging penitence as their reward.

The whole of St. Francis is there. He felt it. It became one of his chief daily pleasures to sing his song.

Later in that year, 1225, he was at Assisi. There was strife between the Bishop and the Podestà, and both had gone to extremes, the Bishop excommunicating the Podestà, and the Podestà using his civil powers to boycott the Bishop. A few years before, St. Francis would have stopped it quickly; he would have rushed to the enemies and convinced them with his words and reconciled them. But that was impossible now. He thought of another way, and it is very characteristic and touching. By this time his song had come to be known and loved, a thing of power. Now he added lines praising God for those who forgive and endure for His sake. The Bishop and the Podestà were touched when they heard it, and gave up their anger.

Praised be thou, my Lord, for those who pardon for love of thee. And bear sickness and sorrow.

Happy they that will suffer these in peace. For by thee Most High they shall be crowned.

In the next year, the doctors told him he would soon die, and he cried at once: "Welcome, Sister Death," and afterwards worked this into his song :

Praised be thou, my Lord, for Sister our Death of the Body. Whom none that lives can evade.

Woe to them who shall die in mortal sin. Happy they that are found in thy most holy ways. For the Second Death cannot do them harm.

Praise ye and bless my Lord. And thank and serve him with great humility.

The Canticle has always astonished by its freshness—it is so unexpected—there is nothing like it before in the Middle Ages.

But there is much in it, too, that is old and traditional; and it is important to realise this. St. Francis is creating a new world: but the matter and form of his new world do not come from nowhere; they come from the oldest tradition of the Church.

Indeed, some critics have described the Canticle as a mere imitation, a mere pastiche—so closely does it reproduce, on the one hand, the form of the Latin poetry of the Church, itself based on the Hebrew. Its uncertain Italian rhythms seem to echo those of the Vulgate Psalms, and perhaps more, the *Te Deum*. And more than that, on the other hand, the attitude towards Nature is that of the Hebrew poets. God made the world, which is full of His creatures; the creatures ought to praise the Creator. St. Francis has nothing of the Pantheistic attitude of the Nature poetry which began in the eighteenth century and is best represented by Wordsworth.

But though the attitude is the same, it is new: it is re-experienced. St. Francis is not merely echoing the old poets; he does not call on the creatures to praise the Lord in Palestine. He calls on the creatures he knows and loves himself, the creatures of his own Umbria.

The poem is not of literary inspiration; it comes from life. St. Francis at the end of his life puts all the praises in one hymn. He had called on the creatures to praise the Lord countless times—the *Fioretti* are full of instances. He had preached to the birds. He had said to the grasshopper: “Sister Grasshopper, you ought to praise God.”

All his life, every creature had been to him a word of God, and he had never been too incurious to listen. He loved the creatures for themselves, for their personality, and had a magnetic influence over them, the birds and the hare and the wolf of Gubbio. He knew the characters of the very forces of nature as we know our friends; he knew Brother Fire dancing about, humorous, hearty.

We see this in the *Canticie*. But there is more. He loved them also for their meaning. Every creature was a symbol. Sister Water is clean and washes, spiritually purifies, represents baptism and penance. Light and fire give life and vision; they resemble God Himself. Stones stand for the little Umbrian church to be repaired, and for the spiritual edifice of the Church to be buttressed; they remind him of Peter; and of the stone which the builders rejected. When he sees a tree, he thinks of the Cross: if the brothers wanted wood, he would tell them to cut the tree so that it could throw out new branches. The gardener should keep his flowers upright, because of the Lily of Saron.

This love of things for themselves and for their meaning constitutes Franciscan art. So in Giotto—the sculptures on his Tower in Florence are full of natural beauty, and also of symbolical truth.

Dante puts the whole universe, all its phenomena, in his Poem; but understands them all in a spiritual sense. Art so constituted is safe from the danger of mere material imitation. There is no 'still life' for men who know that Fire is their brother, Water their sister, flowers and fruits the children of their mother Earth.

Returning for a moment. The poem, with its air of spring and sunlight and joy, seems like a breath from the Earthly Paradise of Umbria.

The newness of St. Francis' Earthly Paradise is realized when we compare it with earlier mediæval notions. The Earthly Paradise was one of the commonest fancies of the Middle Ages. Its elements were drawn from the most various sources—Biblical references to Eden, Apocryphal and Primitive Christian literature, Virgil's Golden Age and the pagan poetry of pastoral and country life, Celtic mythology. It was an alternative Heaven, easier to attain. Its poetry is always a poetry of weakness and refuge, of shrinking from the barbarism of the Dark Ages, and from the hard path of Christianity. It was the most convenient disguise for poetry of the senses, of pleasure; you might write Pagan poetry, even if you were a monk or a priest, when you deceived yourself and others by calling it the Earthly Paradise. A beautiful example is the description of the Happy Land in the Old English poem of the *Phœnix*, which lovingly improves on an earlier Paradise poem by Lactantius. The Happy Land is infinitely far off. There is no rain nor snow nor heat there, no mountains, no rocky glens; it is just an infinite meadow in endless spring, where

there is no weeping, no poverty, no age, and no narrow death. It is not the real world. But Umbria, St. Francis' Earthly Paradise, is real. It is not far off, but here. Rain and snow are praised, even when the brothers were out on the roads in winter, thinly clad; fire is praised, even when it cauterized. Poverty is loved above all treasures. Death is praised; death is not narrow, death is freedom.

Real life inspires real art. Giotto and Dante are in this robust tradition. They have no note of elegy; theirs is the poetry of sane acceptance, not of unmanly refuge.

The Franciscans brought their message all over Europe, and all over Europe the arts benefited. Everywhere their gospel of hope and joy, and their simplicity and directness, had the same effect. Their preaching was popular and dramatic. It certainly influenced the development of popular drama. Everywhere they spoke the vulgar tongue, and did a great deal to give value and currency to the modern languages.

Especially in vernacular poetry the Franciscan influence was great. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a great age of Latin hymn writing: partly overlapping and following came an age in which, all over Europe, there was a great production of religious poetry in the vulgar tongues.

This poetry is passionate in feeling, direct and simple in expression. Its favourite subjects are the Passion and the Blessed Virgin. There is a Franciscan note. We find it in Italy, in Jacopone; we find it in French; in Middle English verse we constantly find the same sentiments and the same

images as in Jacopone. Anglo-Irish literature began Franciscan. The first Irish writer of English whose name is known to us was a Franciscan, Brother Michael Kildare, author of a beautiful poem.

But let us not get lost in the spreadings of Franciscanism; as it went farther in place and time it necessarily became weakened and mixed with other currents: so that to disengage it becomes a hard task.

Meanwhile, in the cradle of Franciscanism there were Franciscans who felt that they had a truer and more intimate image of the Founder, and who ignored or resented this great development beyond them.

II

We are coming now to the *Fioretti*. But to understand this best known of Franciscan biographies, it is necessary to glance for a moment at the other, earlier, biographies.

The first is the First Life of Thomas of Celano. This is the best source. It was written soon after his death by a man who knew St. Francis fairly well, and who was a good though not a charming writer.

Then there is what is called the group of Brother Leo. Leo knew St. Francis much better than Celano did. He was his secretary, confessor, closest friend. He contributed to two biographies, the Legend of the Three Companions, and a second edition of Celano.

Then St. Bonaventure, who brought together

and harmonised all the others, and wrote so well that all other biographies seemed superfluous. In 1266 further biographies were forbidden, and MSS. materials burned by authority. So that, officially, the Biography of St. Francis was finished, beyond improvement, before the *Fioretti* came into existence.

But Brother Leo lived on till 1271. Young brothers came to Assisi and heard him talk of the Saint, and what he said was much more sympathetic and fuller of life than any official biography could be. These interviews were the main source of various anonymous anthologies, apocryphal gospels of St. Francis, most of which were written for a purpose—to strengthen the position of the Spiritual Party.

The best and fairest is the Acts of St. Francis and his Companions. This collection, written first in beautiful simple Latin, was later (in the fourteenth century) translated into Tuscan. The translation is what we call the *Fioretti*.

Though it has less authority, it has more power. It had the fortune to be put into beautiful Italian, while the earlier lives remained in rhetorical Latin. It rises to the heights as well as they do, with all its simplicity. And it has the great advantage that it alone contains the stories of St. Francis' companions.

HOW ST. FRANCIS WENT TO BOLOGNA AND CONVERTED TWO GREAT SCHOLARS

St. Francis arriving once at the city of Bologna, all the people of the city ran to see him; and the crush of people was so great that he had great difficulty in getting to the piazza;

and the piazza being entirely filled with men and women and students, St. Francis got up in the middle of it, and began to preach what the Holy Ghost dictated to him; and he preached such wonderful things, that it seemed an angel was preaching rather than a man; and his heavenly words seemed like sharp arrows, which pierced the hearts of his hearers, so that in that sermon a great multitude of men and women were turned to penitence. Among whom were two noble students from the March of Ancona; one was called Pellegrino, the other Ruggieri; which two, touched in their hearts by the divine inspiration through that sermon, came to St. Francis, saying, that they wished wholly to abandon the world and be brothers. Then St. Francis, knowing by divine revelation that they were sent by God, and that they would lead a holy life in the order, and considering their great fervour, received them joyfully, saying to them: You, Pellegrino, follow the path of humility, and you, Ruggieri, serve the brothers; and so it was; for brother Pellegrino would never go forth as a priest but as a lay brother, although he was very learned and a great canon lawyer; by which humility he reached great perfection of virtue, so much that Brother Bernard, firstborn of St. Francis, said that he was one of the most perfect brothers in this world. And in the end this Brother Pellegrino passed from this life to the happy life, with many miracles before his death and after. Brother Ruggieri served the brothers devotedly and faithfully, living in great sanctity and humility; and he became very dear to St. Francis, and St. Francis revealed many secrets to him. And being made minister of the province of the March of Ancona, he ruled it for a long time in great mildness and prudence. After some time, God allowed him a very great temptation in his soul; and, in sorrow and anguish, he afflicted himself sorely with fasts and scourgings and tears, day and night; and could not however drive out that temptation; but many times was in great despair, thinking himself abandoned by God. Being in this despair, he made up his mind to go as a last remedy to St. Francis, thinking like this; If St. Francis greets me kindly and shows me affection as he always does, I

will believe that God will yet have pity on me; but if not, it shall be a sign that God has abandoned me.

He set out then, and went to St. Francis, who at that time was in the Palace of the Bishop of Assisi, grievously sick; and God revealed to him all the manner of the temptation, and the despair of that Brother, and his purpose and coming. And immediately St. Francis called brother Leo and brother Masseo, and said to them: Go and meet my dearest son brother Ruggieri, and embrace him for me and greet him and say that of all the brothers there are in the world I love him especially. They went, and found brother Ruggieri on the road, and embraced him, and said to him what St. Francis had charged them. Whence his soul had so much comfort and sweetness that he was almost beside himself; and thanking God with all his heart, he went on and came to the place where St. Francis lay sick. He, when he heard brother Ruggieri coming, though he was very sick, got up and went to meet him, and embracing him tenderly said to him: My dearest son brother Ruggieri, of all the brothers that are in the world I love you especially; and when he had said this he made the sign of the holy cross on his forehead and there kissed him; and then said to him: Dearest son, God allowed you this temptation for great deserving and profit; but if you no longer wish to have this profit, *have it not*. Wonderful to tell! as soon as St. Francis had said these words, suddenly all temptation went from him, as if he had never in his life felt it, and he remained fully comforted.

That piece is a good average specimen of the *Fioretti*. It loses by translation, of course. The original Italian is in a beautiful narrative style, which cannot be reproduced in the prose of any modern language.

But, even in translation, we can appreciate many of its qualities.

Firstly. It is history. It all happened; it is what the French call *vécu*, lived. It is *seen* also. The historical background is firm and real: the

University town, the glimpse at Franciscan preaching.

True to fact, it is also true to art. It is perfect story telling. Note especially that the figures are two, although there is really nothing to be said about one of them. But leave him out, and the story loses as art.

There is no elaboration; the tone is perfectly simple. Not childish, however. It succeeds in doing justice to the greatness of St. Francis and to what he said.

St. Francis is the central figure. The two Brothers are not self-reliant administrators, such as a great Order needs and produces. The Order is nothing in the *Fioretti*; St. Francis, and a kind of family dependance on him, everything. Ruggieri is out governing a province—but a temptation assails him and he hurries to his Father, like a child.

This story shows, too, one of St. Francis' moments of genius—the insight which enabled him to map out a whole career in a moment. His convert is an older man than himself, learned, religious; but St. Francis fixes his course for life, unerringly. And note the play on words, very characteristic: 'What is your name?' 'Pellegrino' (which means Pilgrim). 'Pilgrim, follow the path of humility.' And it was so. And the last word—*have it not*—freeing the childlike Ruggieri, but meaning, perhaps, more than he grasped.

The *Fioretti* is a book for all time. It is the most read book in Italy, the Breviary of the Italian people. But it was a book that was written

once for all, in a kind that could not be reproduced. Its moment came, and passed; when the Saint was dead, and those who remembered him were growing old and their memories becoming precious.

Also the Church was against any more books of this kind. Because too often they were full of things that never occurred; the warring parties in the Order inventing pronouncements of the Saint in their favour. Those who followed an apocryphal St. Francis rather than the Order or the Church quickly went to the worst extremes.

III

So that the next portrait (not later in date, but in development) is of a very different kind. Dante did not know St. Francis, but he was a follower, full of his inspiration; it has been said justly, *No Francis, No Dante*. The great Divine Comedy shows the same love and knowledge of the Creatures as the little Canticle of the Sun. As St. Francis' preaching appealed to the brother soul in each man, so does Dante in the three realms address each soul and win from it by love a revelation of itself.

But the Franciscan inspiration is mingled with others in Dante. St. Francis has a great part in his world, but it is a part. Dante sees him in perspective, as one of the greatest of the many heroes of the Church and humanity. A worthy definition of St. Francis' place is his purpose.

The canto is a typical masterpiece of fully developed Italian art; it must be approached from some distance.

Italy is full of the past. The marks of many generations remain. Our fields were made and bounded by man's hands, but nature has adopted them. Italy is more humanized. You see it in the first Alpine valleys, walled and stepped immemorially for the vines. All through the country the paths, villages, churches, cities are full of memories. Those who laid out the towns and built them for all time, the painters and sculptors who ascertained the types of the race—they perhaps mean more than the poets to the Italian who wishes to seek out his source. The heritage of place and form is perhaps richer than that of verse.

But then come the poets. Their task is to interpret this national heritage of place and form. It was already their task in classical days; Italy was already an ancient and sacred land to Virgil when he sang of rivers flowing under ancient walls.

After the break, Dante was the first. He counted up the whole treasure and stored it in his Poem—the land, the cities, the Roman heritage of empire and laws, religion, philosophy.

Dante has also another kind of learning. The main stream of Italian poetry began at the Universities, under the influence of scholasticism; and ever since, to an extent unknown elsewhere, Italian poets have been learned men. The formula of Italian poetry is to put *Truth in beautiful verses*. One of Dante's hardest poems claims that its beauty should be loved, even if its hard truth must go ununderstood.

We shall not now be surprised to find the place of St. Francis' birth described minutely. Nor

shall we be surprised that a learned and scholastic poet elevates the story of St. Francis to a highly symbolical and allegorical vision; that he finds the essential truth of it not in an intimate biography, full of personal details, but in the progress of a great force.

It is put in about eight pictures, a series which might be compared with Giotto's. The mystical significance of the life is more important than the mere external events; so Dante binds the whole together by a mystical unity, found in the relations of Francis and Poverty.

First the Place. Then a Sun rises thence (so might a prophet write) as our Sun in the East. So the place ought to be called Orient—the spiritual East. Then a young man, rushing to marry an incomparable bride—Poverty—whose story is told. Then their mutual love firing others; and disciples following for the sake of the bride. To Rome, where Francis receives the first seal, Innocent's provisional confirmation. Later, the followers grown, definite confirmation from Honorius, the second seal. The visit to the Soldan. Alvernia, the final seal. Death—commending the Lady Poverty to his heirs, he dies in her arms, the bare ground.

Between the Tupino and the river that descends from the hill chosen by the blessed Ubaldo there hangs a fertile slope from a high mountain; whence Perugia feels cold and heat through Porta Sole; and behind it Nocera weeps for the heavy yoke, and Gualdo. From this slope, where its steepness is least, was born to the world a Sun, as this sun is at certain times from the Ganges. Wherefore whoever speaks of that

place, let him not say *Assisi*, for so he would speak short, but *Orient*, if he would speak aright.

He was not yet far distant from his rising when he began to make the earth feel from his great power a certain strengthening; for while a youth he rushed into war against his father for such a lady as none lets in by the gate of pleasure, no more than death; and before the spiritual court and in his father's presence he united himself to her; afterwards from day to day loved her stronger. She, bereft of her first husband, a thousand and a hundred years and more despised and obscure, until him stood uninvited. And nought availed her the report that he who struck all the world with terror found her with Amyclas unmoved at the sound of his voice. And nought availed her to be so faithful and brave that she, when Mary stayed below, went up the cross with Christ. But, lest I should proceed too darkly, Francis and Poverty take from now as these lovers in the sequence of my speech.

Their harmony and happy looks made love and wonder and tender glances to be the cause of holy thoughts. So that the venerable Bernard first unsandalled him, and ran to follow so great a peace, and running thought himself too slow. **O** wealth unknown, **O** fertile good! Unsandals him Egidio, unsandals him Silvestro, to follow the husband, so the bride delights.

Thence proceeds this father and master, with his lady and that family already binding on the humble cord; nor vileness of heart weighed down his brow to be Pietro Bernardone's son, nor to seem rarely contemptible. But royally revealed his hard intent to Innocent, and from him had the first seal on his Order.

When the poor folk grew many behind him whose marvellous life were better sung in the glory of heaven, then with a second crown was the holy will of this shepherd circled by Honorius at the eternal inspiration.

And when thirsting for martyrdom, in the proud presence of the Sultan, he had preached Christ and those who followed him; and because he found that race too raw against conversion, not

to stay in vain, had returned to the fruit of Italian growth; then on the harsh soil between Tiber and Arno he took from Christ the final seal, which his limbs two years bore.

When it pleased Him who chose him for such good to draw him up to his reward, which he had earned in making himself humble, to his brothers, as to rightful heirs, he commanded the lady he held dearest, and charged them to love her faithfully; and from her bosom the glorious soul willed to depart, returning to its own realm, and for its body would no other bier.

Croce makes two objections against this passage. The first is that it is rhetorical, that 'Poverty' is a rhetorical device. Well, it is rhetorical; it is a great Sermon, preached in heaven. But 'Poverty' is not a mere trick. Dante gives the Lady Poverty no more place than St. Francis did himself. It was usual in the Middle Ages—Don Quixote was the last—to imagine your highest ideal under a concrete form. St. Francis was Poverty's knight. He himself surely, like Dante, often meditated on her past worth and loneliness, and how she went up the cross with Christ. From the moment of his marriage to her, and till his death in her arms, he thought of everything in figures of Poverty. If he wanted to tell a brother not to indulge in some pleasure, he would say: 'We must not offend the Lady Poverty.'

Croce's second objection is that the biography is not intimate, that it is impersonal. Well, the intimate biographers had done their work. Dante's is different. He would have thought it irrelevant—and irreverent—to put in any merely human and charming touches. His purpose was to show the creation of a great Order, and still more the in-

fusion of a new vigour into the whole Church. Dante sees exactly what the Church saw; that things must change, that the best fruits of Franciscanism were no longer to be gathered among the fanatics of the Marches.

Dante glorifies Francis as a great Saint. If at moments we feel in incongruity, is no more than that which raised a beautiful Church over the body of the Poverello who had chosen to die upon the bare ground.

IV

After Dante, St. Francis is not again so worthily praised. He was not, indeed, forgotten by his Order, nor by the people, nor by the many of the men of a Renaissance which was only half Pagan. But as time goes on, St. Francis falls out of Italian thought and poetry—nobody has anything important to say about him. The Counter-Reformation had its own saints, and St. Francis had to wait until modern times.

In the last century, the Italians found in their past the strongest reason why Italy should be more than a geographical expression. The poets tried to revive Dante's Italy. The last war of the Risorgimento was for the very frontiers he had defined—Tiralli, Carnaro. D'Annunzio, poet of Greater Italy, acted his dreams; his march on Fiume sanctioned the March on Rome. Fascism had canonised ancestors—it turned the Dante centenary in 1921 to good account—Communism none.

While the Italians were drawing thus upon their civil and military heritage, they were neglecting

their religious heritage. They gloried in Dante the Italian, ignored Dante the Christian. Italy's enemies included the Popes in Rome. National and political interests were allowed to damage religious interests. The national problem was pushed towards solution; the religious worse than neglected.

But this centenary of St. Francis has had as great a significance as that of Dante. The Italian people have celebrated it fervently, and with a feeling of reconciliation between their spiritual and secular duties which has long been lacking. The educated classes, Catholic or not, have been reading a great bulk of literature about St. Francis. The effect is that St. Francis has become a national hero of the new Italy. Inevitably, he has taken something of the image of this age, something not his own; but this is a sign that his influence is a living force. The ideal is unattainable, but efforts are not wasted because they fall short. The modern Italians will not all become true Franciscans, but it is good that they should have Franciscan moments.

The influence of St. Francis on modern Italy has begun, and it must grow. The celebration of his centenary has brought about a crystallisation of vague tendencies; called forth in unison voices which had been scattered or had not yet spoken. Italy has chosen St. Francis as one of her leaders—one of the leaders of the new Italy which is setting out so hopefully towards the future.

APPENDIX



REV. DR. P. HARTMANN, O.F.M.

APPENDIX

PROGRAMME FOR SEVENTH CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF SAINT FRANCIS 1226-1926

CELEBRATIONS FOR THE CLOSE OF THE FRANCISCAN YEAR
August 1st, 1926—October 4th, 1927

FRANCISCAN CHURCH, MERCHANTS' QUAY, DUBLIN RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

Sept. 25th, 12 Noon.—Pontifical High Mass.

Celebrant—THE MOST REV. DR. O'BRIEN, Bishop of Kerry.
(*The Academic Council of University College, Dublin, will attend.*)

7.30 p.m.—Solemn Vespers, Sermon, Benediction.

Preacher—THE MOST REV. DR. MCNEELEY, Bishop of Raphoe.

Sept. 26th, 12 Noon.—Solemn High Mass.

THE AUGUSTINIAN FATHERS.

7.30 p.m.—Solemn Vespers, Sermon, Benediction.

Preacher—THE V. REV. FR. SCANNELL, O.M.I., Provincial

Sept. 27th, 12 Noon.—Solemn High Mass.

THE JESUIT FATHERS.

7.30 p.m.—Solemn Vespers, Sermon, Benediction.

Preacher—THE REV. FR. HUGH KELLY, S.J.

Sept. 28th, 12 Noon.—Solemn High Mass.

THE CAPUCHIN FATHERS.

7.30 p.m.—Solemn Vespers, Sermon, Benediction.

Preacher—THE REV. FR. CLEMENT, O.S.F.C.

Oct. 2nd, 12 Noon.—Solemn High Mass.

THE PASSIONIST FATHERS.

7.30 p.m.—Solemn Vespers, Sermon, Benediction.

Preacher—THE REV. FR. HERMON, C.P.

Oct. 4th.—Feast of our Holy Father, St. Francis.

12 Noon.—Solemn High Mass.

THE DOMINICAN FATHERS.

7.30 p.m.—Solemn Vespers, Sermon, Benediction.

The "Transitus" sung by a Special Choir.

Preacher—THE REV. FR. ALBERT O'NEILL, O.P.

Laus Deo.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

PUBLIC LECTURES

Monday, Sept. 26th, 4.30 o'clock, in the Aula Maxima,
86 St. Stephen's Green.

REV. PROF. CORCORAN, S.J.: "The Irish Franciscans at Rome
and Louvain in the 17th Century."

Tuesday, Sept. 27th, 4.30 o'clock, in the Aula Maxima,
86 St. Stephen's Green.

PROF. HOWLEY: "The Stigmatisation of St. Francis."

Wednesday, Sept. 28th, 4.30 o'clock, in the Aula Maxima,
86 St. Stephen's Green.

REV. PROF. O'KEEFFE: "Duns Scotus."

8 o'clock, in the Aula Maxima, 86 St. Stephen's Green.

• DOMHNALL Ó SRIANNÁ: "na pheiríocháin in Éirinn."

Thursday, Sept. 29th, 4.30 o'clock, in the Aula Maxima,
86 St. Stephen's Green.

MR. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE: "Franciscan Missions."

8 o'clock, in Physics Lecture Theatre, University College.

MR. T. BODKIN, B.A., B.L., Director, National Gallery: "The
Pictorial Treatment of the Life of St. Francis." (Illustrated
with lantern slides.)

Friday, Sept. 30th, 4.30 o'clock, in the Aula Maxima,
86 St. Stephen's Green.

MR. JEREMIAH J. HOGAN, M.A., B.LITT.: "St. Francis in
Italian Literature."

Do éum Slóibe Dé agus Onóra na hÉireann.

THEATRE ROYAL, DUBLIN

MUSICAL PROGRAMME

"Transitus" *Fr. Rinaldelli, O.F.M.*
 (CHOIR AND STRING ORCHESTRA.)

"Canticle of the Sun" *Fr. Pierbattista, O.F.M.*
 PAST PUPILS OF DOMINICAN COLLEGE, ECCLES STREET.

"Musical Pageant," based on Oratorio, "St. Francis" *Fr. Hartmann, O.F.M.*

SS. MICHAEL AND JOHN'S OPERATIC SOCIETY,
 Augmented by Choir of St. Teresa's Church, Donore Avenue;
 St. Catherine's Church, Meath Street; Franciscan Church,
 Merchants' Quay.

VOCALISTS.—DOMINICAN COLLEGE

Mrs. O'Kelly, Mrs. O'Brien, Mrs. Beatty, Mrs. Egan, Mrs. Reddy. The Misses O'Callaghan Moloney, Byrne, Quinn, Ryan, Gibney, Maher, F. Maher, Clinton, Graham, Evans, A. Lynch, E. Lynch, Moran, O'Dwyer, O'Sullivan, L. O'Sullivan, Margaret Murphy, Fogarty, McHugh, Marshall, Brennan, Gaffney, Callaghan, O'Donohoe, O'Riordan, Carroll, Browner, Corrigan, O'Carroll, Bowers, Connolly, Dinon, Doyle, Nan Mulligan, Mona Murphy, Seaver, Maguire, Dowdall, Piggott, O'Brien, O'Shaughnessy.

MUSICAL PAGEANT.—VOCALISTS

First Sopranos.—The Misses Appleby, Bergin, Burke, Byrne, A. Clarke, M. Clarke, Clinton, Colgan, Culligan, Cummins, Davenport, Dignam, Doran, Dunne, Durkin, Eakins, Evans, Graham, Hayes, Hickey, Hughes, Jordan, Laracy, A. Lynch, L. Lynch, Moran, E. Mullen, M. Mullen, Murray, McElroy, McGrath, O'Byrne, A. O'Donoghue, M. O'Donoghue, O'Connor, Power, Powney, Quinn, Reid, Reynolds, Rochford, Woodbyrne.

Second Sopranos.—The Misses Brady, M. Butterley, L. Butterley, Cleary, Fitzpatrick, Flynn, E. Kelly, M. Kelly, A. Whelan, L. Whelan, M. Whelan, Wilson.

First Altos.—The Misses A. Adams, M. Adams, B. Carey, Culligan, Devoy, Fitzpatrick, Gaughran, Murray, Sharkey, Woodbyrne, Woodhead.

Second Altos.—The Misses Boylan, Edge, McGrath, McShane, O'Neill, Sweeny.

First Tenors.—Messrs. Condron, Dunne, Fitzgerald, Fitzpatrick, Murphy, Nolan, O'Connor, Rath, Russell, Smith, Warren.

Second Tenors.—Messrs. Boylan, Burke, Duffy, Edge, Lacy, Murphy, O'Donoghue, Smyth.

Baritones.—Messrs. Bergin, Byrne, Fox, Horan, Liddy, O'Keeffe, Sweeny.

Basses.—Messrs. Allright, Burke, Dunne, Gibney, Murphy, McCann, Pocock, Power, Russell, Sweeny, Verschoyle.

ORCHESTRA

Harp.—Miss Judge.

First Violins.—Messrs. Fahy (Leader), Fee, Graham. The Misses Moriarty, D. O'Connor, H. O'Connor, Sheridan, Simpson, Walshe, Ward.

Second Violins.—Messrs. Corcoran, Curley, Malcolm. The Misses Clarke, Cooke, Donfield, L. Kennedy, M. Kennedy, Kirwan, Moloney, Nolan, Sheehan.

Violas.—Messrs. Brady, Wm. O'Carroll.

Cellos.—Messrs. Doran, Garnett. The Misses Brady, Dixon, Kirwan.

Double Bass.—Messrs. Markey, Ryan.

Cornets.—Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Kirwan.

Trombones.—Messrs. Geraghty, Shannon, Oxley.

Tuba.—Mr. Connolly.

Drums.—Messrs. Cosgrave, Farrell.

Flutes.—Messrs. Corr, Sheerin.

Oboes.—Messrs. Connolly, Lea.

Clarionets.—Messrs. O'Loughlin, O'Reilly.

Bassoons.—Messrs. Byrne, Haughey.

Horns.—Messrs. Devoy, Doyle, Hughes, Sheerin.

“TRANSITUS”

By FR. RINALDELLI, O.F.M.

[The liturgical item known as the *Transitus*, or the Passing of St. Francis, is sung yearly on October 4th, to commemorate the last moments of the Seraphic Father. It consists in the chant of the Psalm 141, with the Antiphon, “O Sanctissima Anima.” On his death-bed St. Francis intoned this psalm, and expired at the last words: “Bring my soul out of prison; the just wait for me.” Hence its appropriateness in this commemoration of the centenary of his death.]

Ant. O sanctissima anima in
cujus transi^tus cæli cives oc-
currunt, Angelorum chorus ex-
ultat, et gloria Trinitas in-
vitat, dicens: Mane nobiscum
in aeternum.

Ant. O most holy soul, whom
the inhabitants of heaven hasten
to salute on thy passage, whom
the choir of Angels receive
with joy, and the glorious Tri-
nity welcome, saying: Abide
with us for all Eternity.

Psalmus cxli.

1. Voce mea ad Dominum
clamavi: voce mea ad Do-
minum deprecatus sum.

2. Effundo in conspectu ejus
orationem meam: et tribula-
tionem meam ante ipsum pro-
nuntio.

3. In defiendo ex me spiri-
tum meum: et tu cognovisti
semitas meas.

4. In via hac, qua ambula-
bam; absconderunt laqueum
mihi.

5. Considerabam ad dexte-
ram, et videbam; et non erat
qui cognosceret me.

6. Periit fuga a me; et non
est qui requirat animam meam.

7. Clamavi ad Te, Domine;
dixi: Tu es spes mea, portio
mea in terra viventium.

8. Intende ad deprecationem
meam: quia humiliatus sum
nimis.

Psalm 141.

I cried to the Lord with my
voice: with my voice I made
supplication to the Lord.

In His sight I pour out my
prayer: and before Him I de-
clare my trouble.

When my spirit failed me:
then Thou knewest my paths.

In the way wherein I
walked: they have hidden a
snare for me.

I looked on my right hand
and beheld, and there was no
man that would know me.

Flight had failed me; and
there is no one who hath re-
gard unto my soul.

I cried to Thee, O Lord,
and said: Thou art my hope,
my portion in the land of the
living.

Hearken to my supplica-
tion: for I am brought very
low.

9. Libera mea a persequentiibus me: quia confortati sunt super me.

10. Educ de custodia animam meam ad confitendum nomini Tuo: me expectant justi, donec retribuas mihi.

Gloria Patri.

Deliver me from those that persecute me: for they are stronger than I.

Bring my soul out of prison, that I may praise Thy name: the just wait for me until Thou reward me.

Glory, etc.

“THE CANTICLE OF THE SUN”

By FR. PIERBATTISTA, O.F.M.

[Of the several “Cantica in vulgari” which St. Francis composed, the only one which has come down, as far as is known, is the “Praises of the Creatures,” or, as it is now more commonly called, “The Canticle of the Sun.” This Canticle appears to have been composed towards the close of the year 1225 in the poor little hut, near the Monastery of San Damiano, whither St. Francis had retired on account of his ultimate infirmities. The verses in praise of “Sister Death” were added by the Saint when he recognised that his end was approaching. This Canticle may be appropriately described as the “Te Deum” of St. Francis.]

Altissimo, omnipotente, bon Signore;

tue son le laudi, la gloria e l'onore e ogni benedizione.

A te solo, altissimo, si confanno

e nullo uomo enne degno Te mentovare.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, con tutte le tue creature, specialmente messer lo frate sole,

lo quale giorna, e allumini per lui.

Ed ello e bello e radiante con grande splendore; da te, altissimo, porta significazione.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, per sora luna e le stelle, in cielo l' hai formate chiarite e preziose e belle.

Most high, omnipotent, good Lord,

Praise, glory and honour and benediction all are Thine. To Thee alone do they belong, most High,

And there is no man fit to mention Thee.

Praise be to Thee, my Lord, for all Thy creatures,

Especially for my worshipful brother sun, The which lights the day, and through him dost Thou brightness give;

And beautiful is he and radiant with splendour great;

Of Thee, most High, he signification gives.

Praised be my Lord for sister moon and for the stars;

In heaven Thou has formed them clear and precious and fair.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, per
frate vento
e per aere e nuvolo e sereno
e ogni tempo,
per i quali alle tue creature
dai sustentamento.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, per
sora acqua,
la quale e molto utile, e
umile e preziosa e casta.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, per
frate foco,
per lo quale ennallumini la
notte;
ed ello e bello e giocondo e
robustoso e forte.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, per
sora nostra madre terra,
la quale ne sustenta e go-
verna
e produce diversi frutti, con
coloriti fiori ed erba.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, per
quelli che perdonano per
lo tuo amore
e sostengono infermitate e
tribulazione;
beati quelli che sosterranno
in pace,
che da te, altissimo, saranno
incoronati.

Laudato sii, mio Signore, per
sora nostra morte corporale,
dalla quale nullo uomo vi-
vente puo scappare;
beati quelli che si troveran-
no nelle tue santissime vo-
luntati,
che la morte seconda nol
fara male.

Praised be my Lord for bro-
ther wind
And for the air and for
clouds, fair and every kind
of weather,
By the which Thou givest to
Thy creatures nourishment.

Praised be my Lord for sister
water,
The which is greatly helpful
and humble and precious and
pure.

Praised be my Lord for
brother fire,
By the which Thou lightest
up the dark;
And fair is he and gay and
mighty and strong.

Praised be my Lord for our
sister, mother earth,
The which sustains and keeps
■■■■■
And brings forth diverse fruits
with grass and flowers bright.

Praised be my Lord for
those who for Thy love for-
give,
And weakness bear and tribu-
lation.

Blessed those who shall in
peace endure,
For by Thee, most High, shall
they be crowned.

Praised be my Lord for our
sister, the bodily death,
From which no living man can
flee.

Woe to them who die in
mortal sin;

Blessed those who shall find
themselves in Thy most holy
will;
For the second death shall do
them no ill.

Laudate e benedicete, mio Signore, e ringraziate e servitelo con grande umiltate. Praise ye and bless ye my Lord, and give Him thanks, And be subject unto Him with great humility.

MUSICAL PAGEANT, IN THREE PARTS
"ST. FRANCIS"

(Adapted from the Oratorio, "St. Francis," by REV. FR. HARTMANN, O.F.M.)

Libretto by the RIGHT REV. MONS. GHEZZI, O.F.M.
(Bishop of Civita Castellana, Italy.)

Conductor—MR. M. J. LYNCH. Producer—MR. DAN BYRNE.
DRAMATIS PERSONAE

HISTORY (Soprano) ...	MISS B. CROSBIE.
ST. FRANCIS (Tenor) ...	MR. J. BURKE.
ST. CLARE (Contralto) ...	MISS M. FENNING.
BONADONNA (Contralto) ...	MISS M. EDGE.
BLESSED LUCHESIUS (Basso) ...	MR. JAS. RAUL.
BR. ANGELO (Basso) ...	MR. JAS. RAUL.
CHORUS—FRIARS, POOR CLARES, NOBLEMEN, NOBLEWOMEN, and PEASANTS.	

PART ONE.—THE FOUNDING OF THE THREE ORDERS OF
ST. FRANCIS

Street Scene in Assisi in Thirteenth Century.

No. 1.—PRELUDE BY ORCHESTRA

No. 2.—HYMN

Text.

In paupertatis praedio
Minorum plantans vineam
Franciscus, magisterio,
Ostendit vitae lineam.

Ad aeternas divitias
Turbam allexit pauperum,
Quos ad coeli delicias
Lingua vocavit operum.

Vita, doctrina splenduit;
Resplendet et miraculis:
Sic praefuit, quod profuit,
Viva lucerna populis.

Synopsis.

This Hymn, taken from the "Office" of St. Francis in the Breviary, sets forth, by way of preface, the founding of the Three Orders—Friars Minor, Clares, and Tertiaries. It records how Francis based his whole institution on holy Poverty, and how he extended that principle, in various degrees, to his First, Second, and Third Orders.

No. 3

Historia.—Franciscus visitatus a Domino, tanta dulcedine repletus est, quod nec loqui nec moveri poterat. Socii id aspicientes interrogant eum.

Socii.—Ecce non venisti ad nos? Num quid uxorem sumere cogitas?

S. Franciscus.—Verum dixistis: et quidem talem, qua nobiliorem et ditorem et pulchriorum nullus umquam vestrum accipere cogitavit.

Historia.—Et deriserunt eum. Ipse vero hoc dixit inspiratus a Deo; nam ipsa sponsa fuit Religio, quam instituendam suscepit, ceteris nobilior et ditior et pulchrior in paupertate.

History.—Describes the effect of the Divine Call on Francis, who hitherto has led a gay and worldly life. He is now speechless and abstracted, and thinks only of the other world.

Companions.—They wonder at the transformation. What does it mean? Is he in love?

St. Francis.—“Yes, I am in love, indeed; but with a nobler and wealthier and more beautiful lady than any of you ever dreamed of.”

History.—His answer is received with derision; for they perceive not the sort of bride on whom his affections are now fixed. For it is on the Lady Poverty.

HYMN

Socii.—

Hic carnis supercilium
Legi subjecit spiritus:
Mundum vicit et vitium,
Se victo, victor inclytus.
Linguae manus praeambula
Verbo paravit semitam,
Et amplectuntur saecula
Doctrinam facto proditam.

Historia.—Divino spiritu accusatus, Franciscus, coepit alios ad justitiam inducere. Et Clara, ad Dei servum prima inter filias, venit, dicens.

S. Clara.—Perfectionis studio et paupertatis amore peracta, beate pater, tuis consiliis me prorsus committo.

Companions.—

Francis has now very different companions. They are his new Brethren—the Friars Minor. They sing joyously of the triumph of Poverty over Riches and of their new-found happiness.

History.—Francis' new mode of life inspires also the women folk of his audience. The Lady Clare, of the noble house of the Sciffi, decides to place herself under his direction.

St. Clare.—Proclaims that she will follow on the path of Perfection and of holy Poverty preached by Francis, and henceforward will act under his guidance.

Clarissae.—

Concinat plebs fidelium
 Virginale paeconium,
 Matris Christi vestigium,
 Et novitatis gaudium.

Poor Clares.—The theme of their song is the glories of virginity and the praise of Clare.

This Hymn is an excerpt from the Divine Office for St. Clare's Feast.

Historia.—Veniens hominum multitudo, ut novis vitae institutis nomen daret, eos adloquitur.

St. Franciscus.—Vestrīs, quae-
 so, domībus manete; nam et
 poenitentiae pro vobis Or-
 dinem instituam.

Historia.—Tum Luchesius et
 uxor eius gaudio exilientes
 dixere.

B. Luchesius et Bonadonna.—
 Auspicato, pater, id facies:
 et nostra nos, omnium pri-
 mi, novae militiae nomina
 concedimus.

St. Franciscus.—Haec est ge-
 neratio quaerentium Domi-
 num; quaerentium faciem
 Dei Jacob.

No. 4.—FINALE OF PART ONE. CHORUS AND FUGUE.

Reminiscentur, et converten-
 tur ad Dominum, universi fines
 terrae.

Et adorabunt in conspectu
 eius, universae familiae gen-
 tium.

Annuntiabitur generatio ven-
 tura; et annuntiabunt coeli jus-

HYMN

Pauperum primogenita,
 Dono coelesti praedita,
 Clara Christi discipula,
 Luce respersit saecula.

History.—Large multitudes—
 men and women, married
 and single—are moved by
 Francis' preaching and new
 mode of life, and wish to
 join him *en masse*.

St. Francis.—“Not in that
 way,” he replies. “But I
 will tell you what to do. I
 will found for you a special
 Order—the Order of Pen-
 ance—the Rule of which
 you may observe without
 leaving your homes.”

History.—Blessed Luchesius
 and his wife, Bonadonna, are
 filled with joy at this project.

Bl. Luchesius and Bonadonna.—“Oh, yes. That is what
 we want. We will be the
 very first to join the ranks
 of your Third Order.”

St. Francis.—“This is the
 generation seeking the Lord:
 seeking the name of the God
 of Jacob.”

“All the ends of the world
 shall remember and shall be
 converted to the Lord.” (Ps.
 21.) “And all the kindred of
 the Gentiles shall adore in his
 sight.”

“There shall be declared a
 generation to come: and the

titiam eius populo qui nascetur, quem fecit Dominus.

Timeat eum omne semen Israel; quoniam non sprevit depreciationem pauperis.

heavens shall show forth his justice to a people that shall be born, which the Lord hath made." (Ps. 21.) "Let the seed of Israel fear Him: because He hath not slighted the depreciation of the poor man." (Ps. 21.)

QUARTET.—St. Francis, St. Clare, History, and Bl. Luchesius.

Dum reparat virtutibus
Hospes triplex hospitium;
Et beatarum mentium
Dum templum Christo con-
securat.

The words of this Hymn, taken from the Divine Office for the Feast of St. Francis, commemorate the founding of the Three Orders.

FUGUE

Reminiscentur populi et con-
vertentur ad Dominum.

These words are repeated from the Psalm, "They shall remember and shall be converted to the Lord."

CURTAIN

PART TWO.—THE STIGMATA

Scene on Mount Alverna in Tuscany.

No. 5.—PRELUDE BY THE ORCHESTRA

Historia.—Cum oraret in mon-
te vidit Seraphim descen-
dentem, qui, appropinquans
viro Dei, crucifixus apparuit.
Quod videns in doloris et
gaudii excessu, ait:

S. Franciscus.—Magnificabitur
Christus in corpore meo sive
per vitam, sive per mortem.

Mihi enim vivere Christus
est et mori lucrum.

History.—Francis, praying on Mount Alverna, sees the Seraph flying towards him with wings extended in the form of a cross. As the vision approaches, St. Francis recognises in the Seraph the likeness of the Crucified.

St. Francis.—In an ecstasy of pain and joy he exclaims in the words of St. Paul:—"Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. For to me, to live is Christ: and to die is gain."

No. 6

Historia.—Ut in manibus eius
et pedibus apparuerunt signa
clavorum et latus eius quasi
lancea transverberatum per-
sentit, exclamavit.

History.—Tells how on Francis' hands and feet appeared the sign of the nails, and on his side the sign of the lance.

S. Franciscus. — Christo confixus sum cruci, stigmata enim Domini Iesu in corpore meo porto.

St. Francis. — "With Christ I am nailed to the Cross, for I bear the marks of the Lord Jesus in my body." (Gal. ii., 19.)

DUET.—*St. Clare and Bl. Luchesius.*

Crucis Christi mons Alvernae
Recenset mysteria,
Ubi salutis aeternae
Dantur privilegia :

Dum Franciscus dat lucernae,
Crucis sua studia.

Collaudetur Crucifixus,
Tollens mundi scelera,
Quem laudat concrucifixus,
Crucis ferens vulnera,
Franciscus prorsus innixus
Super mundi foedera.

Amen.

Let Alverna's holy mountain
That high mystery proclaim,
Of the stamps of Life Eternal
Which on Blessed Francis came;

While he sobb'd, and while he sigh'd,
Grieving for the Crucified.

Honour to the high Redeemer,
Who for us in torments died,
In whose image Blessed Francis Suffer'd and was sanctified,
Counting everything but loss
For the glory of the Cross.

Amen.

PART THREE.—THE DEATH AND GLORIFICATION OF ST. FRANCIS

Scene outside the Chapel of Porziuncula, near Assisi.

No. 7

Historia. — Dum sanctissimus Pater gravissimis angebatur doloribus, et cum audisset se brevi moriturum, fratres ad Domini laudes decantandas invitabat, dicens :

S. Franciscus. — Beneveniat soror mea mors. Cantate mihi canticum fratris solis, et de sorore morte.

Socii. —

Laudetur meus Dominus
Pro universorum mole;
Sed laudetur maxime
Pro nostro fratre sole.
Laudetur meus Dominus
Propter sororem mortem,
Quam nemo unquam effugiet
Ex viventibus sortem.

History. — Francis, forewarned by his physicians, and he himself seeing his end approach, exhorts his brethren to sing for him the praises of the Lord.

S. Francis. — "Sing to me the Canticle of Brother Sun and Sister Death," he says.

Companions. —

Praise be to Thee, my Lord, with all Thy creatures, especially to my worshipful Brother Sun.

Praised be my Lord for our Sister the bodily death, from which no living man can flee.

Benedicite Domino
Cum magna humilitate,
Cuncta quae fecit opera
Semper Deum laudate.

Historia.—Lecto evangelio et benidictis fratribus nudatus super nudum humum decumbans dixit.

S. Franciscus.—“Dilectissimi fratres, audite me, magna promisimus, majora promissa sunt nobis; servemus haec, suspiremus ad illa. . . . Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi.” . . .

Socii.—Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi, voce mea ad Dominum deprecatus sum.

Clamavi ad te Domine, tu es spes mea et portio mea in terra viventium.

Educ de custodia animam meam, me expectant justi. . .

Historia.—Et vir beatus obdormivit in Domino. . . .

Fra Angelo.—Franciscus pauper et humilis coelum dives ingreditur: hymnis coelis tibus honoratur.

Praise ye and bless ye my Lord, and give Him thanks, and be subject to Him with great humility.

History.—Francis wishes to die naked on the naked ground.

St. Francis.—“Most beloved brothers, listen to my words: we have promised great things; greater things are promised to us; let us observe the former and aspire to the latter. . . . I cried to the Lord with my voice.” (Ps. 141.)

Companions.—“I cried to the Lord with my voice, with my voice I made supplication to the Lord.

I cried to Thee, O Lord, Thou art my hope, my portion in the land of the living.

Bring my soul out of prison, the just wait for me.” . . . (*Ibid.*)

History.—Having said this, he fell asleep in the Lord. . . .

Br. Angelo.—Francis, the poor man, the lowly man, enters heaven with great wealth of merit: the heavenly choirs sing his praises.

No. 8.—FINAL CHORUS

O sanctissima anima, in cuius transitu coeli cives occurunt, Angelorum chorus exultat, et gloriosa Trinitas invitat, dicens:

Mane nobiscum in aeternum.

O soul most holy, whom the inhabitants of Heaven hasten to salute on thy passage; whom the Choir of Angels receive with joy; whom the glorious Trinity welcome, saying: “Abide with us for eternity.”

Pax et Bonum.

The above Programme, in all its parts, was carried out in a manner that evoked the devotional enthusiasm of the exceptionally large numbers who attended the various functions. The *Catholic Times* and the *Irish Catholic*, on the one hand, and the *Irish Independent* and the *Irish Times*, on the other, gave rather full and invariably laudatory reports of the proceedings.

Though the Programme is, in most respects, sufficiently detailed, some few words of comment and elucidation may, we think, usefully be added.

I.—RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.—A glance at this part of the Programme reveals that on each day of the "Franciscan Week" representatives of various Religious Orders or Congregations performed our liturgical functions. The idea was that the religious bodies in the Church, associated by special ties with St. Francis and his Order, should join with us in our celebrations.

(1) Hence, in the first instance, the Irish Hierarchy was represented at the opening ceremonies by the Most Rev. Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Kerry, as Celebrant of the Pontifical High Mass, and by the Most Rev. Dr. McNeeley, Bishop of Raphoe, as Preacher in the evening. For, the close association of the Franciscan Order in Ireland with the Irish Hierarchy is a commonplace of Irish ecclesiastical history. All through the mediæval period, and down to the end of the eighteenth century, the Order figured large in its representation on the Irish Hierarchy. Irish Franciscans were specially conspicuous as Irish Bishops in that hazardous, but most brilliant age, the seventeenth century. Many other points of contact rendered the present close association not only most desirable, but actually inevitable.

(2) The Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine—to give the Augustinians their official title—was duly represented morning and evening. One of its most eminent historians, Herrera, stoutly maintained that St. Francis, in the earlier stages of his "Conversion," followed the life of an Augustinian Hermit. But be that as it may,—Wadding, in a special monograph, violently objected to the contention—the love and devotion of the Augustinians in Ireland for the Irish Franciscans has been, for a century or more, a most certain thing.

(3) The Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate were represented by the Provincial, Father Scannell, O.M.I., who preached the panegyric of St. Francis in the evening. This most worthy Congregation owes its name to the Franciscans—to John Duns Scotus and his followers, who made

the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception a possibility.

(4) On the third day, the Jesuit Fathers celebrated the High Mass; and Father Hugh Kelly, S.J., preached in the evening. Nothing could have been more appropriate, as the Founder of the Society was himself a devout Tertiary of St. Francis and member of the Franciscan Sodality of the Holy Name of Jesus at Rome. It was from the devotion to the Holy Name, cherished in this Sodality, that he determined to designate the Society, which he formed, as the Society of Jesus. But over and above this, scholastic and other ties bind the Society to the Order of Friars Minor.

(5) The Capuchin Franciscans—our brothers in St. Francis—could not but find a natural place, morning and evening, in our celebrations. Their preacher, Fr. Clement, O.S.F.C., was thoroughly equal to the occasion, and delivered a masterful panegyric.

(6) St. Francis' intense devotion to the Passion of Our Lord, and the fact that St. Paul of the Cross, Founder of the Congregation of the Passion, was himself a Franciscan Tertiary, explain the appropriateness of the Fathers of the Passion taking part in our solemnities. The splendid and appropriate sermon which Father Hermon, C.P., preached on the occasion forcibly brought home to his hearers the fulness and aptness of this implication.

(7) The concluding functions were reserved for our brothers the Dominicans. The friendship, cemented between the Patriarchs of the two Orders—St. Dominic and St. Francis—has operated all through the centuries, and is as close to-day as when the pact was initiated. Consistently with this tradition, the last and choicest day was reserved for the Dominicans; when Father Albert O'Neill, O.P., spoke his admirable panegyric.

II.—PUBLIC LECTURES.—As mentioned in the Prefatory Note, we are indebted to Dr. Coffey, President of University College, Dublin, for this section of our Programme. When approached on the subject, he not only received our suggestion most sympathetically, promising to do everything in his power; but, on obtaining the sanction of the Academic Council on the matter, most earnestly interested himself in securing for the purpose the very competent Lecturers whose names appear in our Programme. He also acted as Chairman throughout this part of the proceedings—introducing and concluding each Lecture with learned and apposite observations, drawn from a mind saturated with varied and recondite erudition. It is no exag-

geration to say that to Dr. Coffey is mainly due the grand success which our "Franciscan Week" proved to be.

At the same time we are deeply indebted to each of the distinguished men who, at Dr. Coffey's invitation, consented to deliver for us their admirable and carefully prepared Lectures. To each of them personally we desire to offer our most heartfelt gratitude.

As, to our great regret, it has not been possible to print the various speeches delivered in connection with the Lectures, the names, at least, of those who contributed to the discussions must here be recorded.

(1) To Rev. Prof. Corcoran's "Irish Franciscans at Rome and Louvain," the following speakers made remarks: Prof. D. H. Binchy, Rev. Gregory Cleary, O.F.M.; Prof. Mary Hayden.

(2) To Prof. Howley's "Stigmatisation of St. Francis": Very Rev. Canon Monahan, P.P.; Right Rev. Mgr. Walsh, Vic.-Gen.; Rev. Gregory Cleary, O.F.M.

(3) To Rev. Prof. O'Keeffe's "Duns Scotus": Very Rev. Hubert Quinn, O.F.M., Provincial; Very Rev. Prof. Boylan, D.D.; Rev. Gregory Cleary, O.F.M.

(4) To Domhnall O'Grianna's "Na Proinnsiascánaigh in Eirinn": Cormac Breathnac and Lord Ashbourne.

(5) To A. Hilliard Atteridge's "Franciscan Missions": Very Rev. Hubert Quinn, O.F.M., Provincial; Very Rev. Father Angelus, O.S.F.C.; Rev. A. Gwynn, S.J.; Rev. Jerome O'Callaghan, O.F.M.

(6) To Thomas Bodkin's "Pictorial Treatment of the Life of St. Francis": Very Rev. Hubert Quinn, O.F.M., Provincial; Prof. Howley.

(7) To Mr. Hogan's "St. Francis in Italian Literature": Right Rev. Mgr. Cronin, Vic.-Gen.; Rev. Gregory Cleary, O.F.M.; Prof. Donovan.

At the conclusion of the last Lecture, the Very Rev. Father Provincial thanked the President and the Lecturers in the following speech:—

"We have now come to the end of this series of brilliant and instructive Lectures, covering almost every phase of Franciscan activity. I feel it my duty to offer, on behalf of the Irish Franciscans, my most grateful thanks to Dr. Coffey, who organised this series of invaluable Lectures and presided, with no small inconvenience, at each of them, taking occasion each time to say the most complimentary things about the Order and its activities. I have to thank him, further, for his selection of the brilliant Lecturers, who dealt with their subjects with a competence which, I make bold to say, could not be either rivalled or surpassed by the staff of any other University.

" His identification of the University with our centenary celebrations revives the memory of the connection of our Order with the rise and development of University life in Europe. The part played by the Friars of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders at Paris, Oxford, Bologna and other centres is a matter of common knowledge. It is such names as Albert the Great and St. Thomas, on the part of the Dominicans, and Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Scotus and Roger Bacon, on the part of the Franciscans, that shed their very greatest lustre on the Universities of Paris and Oxford. In mediæval times, and in fact until our own day, Ireland did not have the advantage of a National University. Our Friars were compelled to go abroad for University education in accordance with the provisions of St. Bonaventure's constitutions when the Order made provision for this state of things as early as 1260. Two attempts in mediæval days were made by the Popes for the establishment of a University in Ireland, first in Dublin and later in Drogheda. Thus John XXII, in 1320, actually issued a Charter for the establishment of a University in Dublin; but, unfortunately, it seems to have never functioned, even though we have the names of the Professors who were appointed, among them being two or three Irish Franciscans.

" It was intended by the Pope John that the schools of the Dominican and Franciscan Convents in Ireland should form the nucleus of the theological faculty of the contemplated University. Hence, the Irish Friars were identified in Ireland as elsewhere with University life. Dr. Coffey shows himself to be alive to this tradition, and I say again we are exceedingly grateful to him.

" I have said already how much I appreciate the competence of the various Lecturers in dealing with their respective subjects. They have displayed an ability beyond all praise. What could be more excellent and thorough than Professor Corcoran's treatment of the golden age of Irish Franciscan scholarship in the seventeenth century? Professor O'Keeffe, in his masterly survey of the history of mediæval Scholasticism, has done our Order an inestimable service in presenting the leader of the Franciscan school in his true historic setting. All, too, will admit that the treatment of the Stigmatisation of St. Francis, by Professor Howley, was as scientific as it was devotional, and could be treated by nobody more competently.

" We have just listened to Professor Hogan's brilliant and informative paper on St. Francis and Italian Literature. It is an unique presentation of the subject; few or none could treat the subject so ably. Speaking of those not actually on the University staff, but who have kindly come here to pay

their tribute to St. Francis, I have specially to thank Mr. Atteridge for coming all the way from London to give us the benefit of his enclycopedic information on the Franciscan Missions.

"As for Mr. Bodkin, we all feel very grateful for his placing at our disposal his unrivalled knowledge of Art in general and of Franciscan Art and traditions in particular. I find no words adequate to express my appreciation of what he has done. I was impressed not only by his knowledge of Franciscan Sources and his instructive remarks on the pictures he showed, but particularly by his firm conviction on what genuine religious Art ought to be; and for this latter reason, from my point of view, he is the most worthy choice that could be made to direct our National Gallery. Sincerest thanks to him, and heartiest congratulations."

III.—MUSICAL PAGEANT.—As indicated in the Programme, two musical items by Franciscan composers—the "Transitus," by Fr. Rinaldelli, O.F.M., and the "Canticle of the Sun," by Fr. Pierbattista, O.F.M.,—preceded, by way of prelude and apposite setting, the production of Fr. Hartmann's masterpiece. These items were admirably rendered by a special Choir, composed of Past Pupils of the Dominican College, Eccles Street, Dublin, with string orchestral accompaniment. Careful rehearsals, under the direction of Mother Clement, O.S.D., and of Sister Columban, O.S.D., resulted in the flawless execution which all admired. For the success of this part of our Programme we feel deeply obliged to these eminent Nuns, as well as to the Rev. Mother Prioress and to the members of the Choir.

SS. Michael and John's Operatic Society, augmented by the Choirs of St. Teresa's Church, Donore Avenue; St. Catherine's, Meath Street, and Franciscan Church, Merchants' Quay, was responsible for the signal success of the "St. Francis" Oratorio; in the production of which Dublin may be said to have achieved distinction, in as much as it seems to be the first place where this Oratorio—not intended by the author for pageantry—was presented as a musical pageant. For this innovation, which proved most successful, thanks are exclusively due to Mr. Dan Byrne. The difficulties—and they were many—with which he had to contend, and which he triumphantly overcame, are dealt with in two appreciations of his efforts hereinafter given. Mr. M. J. Lynch, the conductor, deserves all praise. Mention must also be made of the very material assistance given, in the preparatory stages, by Fr. Antonine Kelly, O.F.M., and Fr. Augustine O'Neill, O.F.M., whose activity, experience and advice were of importance towards the success achieved.

It only remains to tell our readers who Fr. Hartmann was, and what he accomplished.

Born 21st December, 1863, in Austrian Tyrol, Fr. Hartmann de An der Lan Hochbrunn, O.F.M.—to give him his full name—was educated at the Public Gymnasium, or High School, at Botzen (Bolsano), then, as now, under the direction of the Franciscans. Perceiving that his vocation was for the Religious Life, he entered the Franciscan Order in August, 1879. Luckily for his future career, his Novice-Master was Fr. Peter Singer, O.F.M., one of the foremost musicians of the time. Of the latter, Abbé Liszt used to say: “If I be the Paganini of the piano, Fr. Peter Singer must be styled the Liszt of the organ.” In the history of Music, Fr. Singer obtains notoriety because of the instrument invented by him, and known as the “Pansymphonicon,” which he constructed at Salzburg.

With Fr. Singer’s help and encouragement, Hartmann devoted all his spare time from his philosophical and theological studies to the cultivation of music, in its theory and practice.

Ordained priest in 1888, he was given the office of organist and teacher of music in his Convent. Seven years later, he opted for the Holy Land Mission; which, as is well known, is in charge of the Franciscans. Here, too, he found a Superior of great musical attainments—the Most Rev. Fr. James Ghezzi, O.F.M., Custos of the Holy Land, and, subsequently, Bishop of Civitacastellana in Italy; who not only helped and encouraged Hartmann at the time, but, at a later date, wrote for him most of the librettos of his Oratorios.

In 1893, Hartmann was called to Rome, to act as organist in the church of the Order at Ara-Coeli. It was only in 1900 that he burst into fame, as composer of Oratorios. But henceforward he became, till his death, what the Italians designate as a “furore.” His works continued to be incessantly produced in the principal cities of Europe and of America.

After eleven years of great popularity in Rome, he was sent by his superiors to Munich. Thence he proceeded to America, to conduct, personally, his Oratorios at New York and other cities; which he did with very great success. But, succumbing to the strain and to heart trouble, he was compelled to return to Europe. Still, his indomitable energy enabled him to continue his activities as Conductor in various cities of Germany, Austria and Italy. But a severe influenza attack supervened; and Fr. Hartmann died at the Franciscan Friary, Munich, 5th December, 1914. His death was that of a saint. His remains were conveyed to his beloved Bozen, and interred there, after a public funeral, in the cemetery of the Friars.

Fr. Hartmann published five Oratorios and some twenty or thirty minor pieces. He was a much decorated Friar.

He was created Knight of the Grand Cross of Emperor Francis Joseph and decorated by that Emperor with the medal "Pro Artibus et Litteris." He was also created Knight of the Spanish Order of St. Isabell, and held decorations from Prince Luitpold and Pope Leo XIII. The title of Honorary Doctor was also bestowed on him by several Universities. To his great personal satisfaction, he conducted his compositions at Rome, Naples, Vienna (in the presence of the Emperor), Petersburg, Prague, Munich (in the presence of King Ludwig), New York, and in many other cities. His devotion to the institutions and practices of the Order to which he belonged was unrivalled. He refused invitations to Berlin and other cities, because he found it impossible to appear there in the habit of his Order. His is the last great name to be added to the list of famous Franciscan composers on the Continent, who, as students of Franciscan history know, have been numerous.

We append two appreciations of the Oratorio—its rendering and its production—by distinguished musical experts. The first is by Professor Delany, the well-known Irish violinist, and is as follows :

"When it was decided to perform Father Hartmann's work, it became obvious that the production would be much more attractive to an audience, and would give a clearer idea of the three great phases in the life of St. Francis, if it were possible to stage it in the form of a pageant, with settings, costumes, and lighting effects, and not in the manner in which the bigger Oratorios, like the 'Messiah' and 'The Creation,' for example, are staged.

"In the case of the 'Messiah' and 'The Creation' a black curtain drawn across the stage suffices, with a gallery for the chorus, the principals being seated in front.

"From the magnitude of these two great works it will readily be realised that they could not be produced in the form of a pageant; but Father Hartmann's masterpiece lent itself more easily to this method of production.

"The difficulties which confronted Mr. M. J. Lynch, the conductor, were many and trying, but there were two main problems which had to be faced.

"First, the fact that the Oratorio was in Latin meant that both principals and chorus were obliged to memorise a language with which they were not familiar—always a difficult feat—and which, with few exceptions, the majority did not understand.

"Secondly, careful and, indeed, anxious consideration had to be given to the portrayal of the Stigmata of St. Francis, by reason of the exacting degree of reverence which the sacredness of the subject demanded.

" That these difficulties, together with a host of minor ones, were surmounted after much patient effort is amply borne out by the felicitous newspaper and other comments on the entire production.

" In the case of the big Oratorios a conductor has his chorus divided up accordingly as he requires them from the musical point of view. Such an arrangement as this had to be dispensed with, from the historical point of view, in Father Hartmann's work, which meant that in the big finale—the most difficult chorus in the whole work—there were three complete chorusses on the stage. It was imperative, therefore, that even the least efficient singer should know his part as well as the best, and that perfection, so far as was humanly possible, should be achieved.

" Even those without either a theoretical or practical knowledge of music realized the extent of the task which fell upon Mr. Lynch's shoulders; and the success of his efforts were, in the circumstances, all the more remarkable and praiseworthy. He was, however, able to face the work with the support of principals and chorus, all of whom worked wholeheartedly towards the common end.

" The Oratorio is divided into three parts.

" The first shows the institution of the three Orders of St. Francis—the Friars Minor, the Poor Clares and the Third Order.

" The second deals with the imprinting of the Stigmata on St. Francis when he was wrapped in prayer on the top of Mount Alverno.

" The third part shows the 'Transitus,' or death of St. Francis.

" The music throughout is more solemn than dramatic; in fact, the first really dramatic outburst occurs when the Saint, transported with joy after founding the Three Orders, breaks rapturously into the words of the Psalm, 'Haec est generatio quarentium Dominum. . . .'

" This is immediately followed by a musical four-part chorale and fugue, full of fire and vigour, the whole forming a worthy climax to this episode in the career of the Saint.

" In the introduction to the second part a wonderful piece of music is discoursed.

" As the curtain rises, the Saint is discovered kneeling in prayer, and for something like seven minutes the orchestra creates that atmosphere of ecstasy and exaltation which surrounds the central Figure.

" The form of the music is a simple motif of about three bars, taken up and across, and handled by the different instruments, first in the major, and then in the minor key, back to

the original melody in the original major key, then finally dies away. *Storia* tells how the Saint, when he was praying on the mountain, saw a Seraph descending from Heaven, having between his wings the figure of the Crucified. The Stigmata is imprinted, and Francis sings out, in the fulness of his soul, 'Magnificabiter Christus in corpore meo sive per vitam sive per mortem.'

"The finale to this part is in the form of a most original canon, sung by St. Clare and by Blessed Luchesius, the head of the Third Order.

"In the third part St. Francis is seen on a litter, surrounded by his brethren. The end is approaching, and the music is necessarily sombre in character. The Saint calls upon the brethren to sing, 'Cantate mihi canticum fratris solis et de sorore morte.' Then, as the last moment comes, he cries out, in a loud voice, 'Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi,' and expires in the arms of the brethren.

"His disciples sing portion of the Psalm beginning with the Saint's last words. They are unaccompanied, and this really beautiful and devotional piece of music is difficult, and in parts almost unsingable, except with voices which are very true in quality. Hence the greatest credit is due to the male chorus for their wonderfully true intonation.

"At the end of the Psalm *Storia* sings out in the monotone, 'Et vir beatus obdormivit in Dominum.'

"The Saint's epitaph is then sung by Brother Angelo—'Franciscus pauper et humiles coelum dives ingreditur, hymnis coelestibus honoratur.'

"Finally, with the stage in darkness, all voices sing, 'O sanctissima anima, in cuius transitu coeli cives occurunt angelorum chorus exultat, et gloriosa Trinitas invitat dicens. . . .'

"At this point the stage is brilliantly illuminated, and at the back is revealed a stairs reaching up to the clouds, and the entire chorus concludes by singing, 'Mane nobiscum in aeternum,' forming a wonderful climax to the piece."

Another keen musical critic writes in the following terms in the *Irish Independent*, September 26, 1927:

"At the Theatre Royal yesterday afternoon there was the performance of a musical pageant, 'St. Francis,' a work adapted from Rev. Fr. Hartmann's Oratorio of the same name, in connection with the Franciscan celebrations.

"The pageant portrayed the principal events in the life of St. Francis. On a darkened stage, representing a street in Assisi, we saw St. Francis leaving the gay companions on hearing the Divine Call. The founding of the three Orders—Friars Minor, Clares, and Tertiaries—follows.

"In succession we saw how the populace of Assisi were inspired by the example of St. Francis and his followers; the vigil on Mount Alverna, in Tuscany, when the Stigmata appeared on the hands and feet of the Saint after the vision of a heavenly seraph in the skies; and then the death and glorification of St. Francis, surrounded by his brethren, outside the Chapel of Portiuncula, near Assisi.

"*Novel presentation.*—The manner adopted by the composer for stage presentation of his work was rather novel. 'History,' excellently represented by Miss Betty Crosbie, stood at the side of the stage and sang from a scroll the message of the libretto. Miss Crosbie's diction was so good that there was little need to refer to the book of words, which was thoughtfully printed in Latin and English. Her voice and singing method made of her an ideal interpreter for the part.

"Mr. J. Burke, the young tenor, who played the role of St. Francis, gave a fine performance in the death scene and the opening scene. In the mountain setting he was not quite so successful. St. Clare was portrayed by Miss M. Fenning, and Bonadonna by Miss M. Edge. Mr. James Raul, who doubled the parts of Blessed Luchesius and Brother Angelo, gave sonorous majesty to his solo in the death scene, 'the heavenly choirs singing his praises.'

"*Orchestra and Choir.*—Under Mr. J. Lynch the orchestra of 52 members lent brilliancy to the whole production. The choir of 130 voices sang with apparently full realisation of their solemn part in the pageant. In the chorus and fugue 'All the Ends of the World Shall Remember,' following the robing of St. Clare; and again in the finale, 'Choir of Angels Receive With Joy,' there was a real thrill in their impressive tone as they neared the climax of a crescendo. Of the concerted items, I liked best the quartet for St. Francis, St. Clare, History, and Br. Luchesius, of which the words were taken from the Divine Office for the Feast of St. Francis, commemorating the founding of the three Orders.

"To Mr. Dan Byrne, who produced the pageant, special praise must be given for his masterly handling of the big company. In the final scene he managed to convey a sense of triumph by setting the big chorus of angels tier on tier to an apex at the limit of the stage height and giving to many of the 'angels' flying movements by an ingenious device.

"*An Onerous Task.*—Mr. M. J. Lynch, who conducted the entire programme, had the onerous task of teaching nearly 200 amateur performers who devoted their evenings after business hours to this self-imposed task."

CONCLUDING CEREMONY

A solemn service in the Franciscan Church, Merchants' Quay, brought the "Franciscan Week" to a close. On the evening of October 4th, the Feast of the Seraphic Patriarch, after the Franciscan Rosary had been recited and after a choir of 130 voices had sung the "Second" of Dubois' "Seven Last Words," the Very Rev. Fr. Albert O'Neill, O.P., entered the pulpit and delivered a very remarkable address. The choir, with organ accompaniment, next sang Gounod's Benediction Service (in eight parts); the Very Rev. Father Provincial imparting Benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament. Benediction was followed by the singing of the "Transitus," composed by Rinaldelli, which was rendered by the choir and string orchestra.

And after the people had been blessed with the relic of St. Francis, the choir of 130 voices and full orchestra (strings, woodwind, brass and percussion) burst into the joyous and thunderous strains of Handel's "Alleluia," affording as seemed, a *grand finale* the most appropriate to the solemnities.

Laus Deo semper.

922.2245

F 818c

AUTHOR

Clearym Gregory

TITLE

Irelands tribute to Saint Fancis

922.2245

F 818c

